

An illustration of a crowd of men in military-style uniforms, many holding rifles aloft in a gesture of triumph or defiance. The background is a solid, vibrant red. In the center, a white silhouette of the African continent is superimposed. Two thin white lines originate from the text 'THE TRIAL OF THE PLAYA GIRON MERCENARIES' and point towards a small black dot on the southern coast of the map, which is labeled 'GIRON'.

THE TRIAL
OF THE
PLAYA GIRON
MERCENARIES

GIRON

HISTORY OF AN AGGRESSION

the trial of the playa girón mercenaries

This book is based on a compilation of articles by Cuban journalists, on documents and events around the Havana Trial of the 1,179 mercenaries, who were mobilized, trained and financed by U. S. Imperialism to invade Cuba in 1961, with the aim of overthrowing the Cuban Revolutionary Government, the people's state, and to restore the old regime of terror and exploitation which existed in Cuba until January 1, 1959.

The confessions of the principal mercenary ring-leaders and the declarations of the officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, which fought the battle of Playa Giron, explains in detail the history of the aggression calculated to destroy the people's power, and shows the nature of the victorious battles which routed the invaders in less than 72 hours. This was the first great defeat of Imperialism in the Americas.

As an introduction, this book also includes the speech of Commander Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minis-

ter of the Republic of Cuba, on the occasion of the 1st. anniversary of the Playa Giron victory. In addition, it contains the proceedings of the trial, the statements of the Chief Justice, the defense attorneys, the concluding remarks and the sentences pronounced by the Revolutionary Court.

The last chapter informs the reader of the social composition of the mercenaries. It shows them to be a collection of all sorts of people from the privileged and exploiting classes, who avail themselves of every opportunity to harass the Cuban Revolution. There were also among them repugnant criminals from the ousted regime, who have found refuge from Revolutionary justice, and have been recruited by the USA government.

The book also brings a certain number of articles from the Imperialist press, which recognizes the direct responsibility of the United States Government for the invasion, a fact which was hypocritically denied in the initial phases of the invasion, and a few days later, cynically admitted by the late John F. Kennedy, then President of the United States of America.

history of an aggression

*Testimony and documents
from the trial of
the mercenary brigade
organized by the U. S. imperialists
that invaded Cuba
on April 17, 1961*

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INTRODUCTION

**“If they attack
us again,
the Revolution will
be relentless
with them...”**

*Speech delivered by Prime Minister
Dr. Fidel Castro, on
the 19th of April, 1962,
the first anniversary of the
victory of the Cuban people at
Playa Girón when they crushed
the mercenary invasion launched
by Yankee imperialists.*

This speech by the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, Major Fidel Castro, was delivered on April 19th, 1962, at the Ceremony held at the Chaplin theater in Marianao honoring the heroes who died at Playa Girón, on the first anniversary of the victory.

Comrades:

A year ago today, the smoke from the last shots of the battle of Playa Girón was clearing. Those who launched the attack had thought that it would be the end of the Revolution; they thought that a year later we would not be here together again; they thought that the Revolution—what it is and what it stands for—could be destroyed; they thought that our country would return to the past, even at the cost of its total destruction.

To measure the degree of criminality of that attack, we must take into account what our enemy had in mind. They made the invaders, the forces that they recruited and trained, believe such stupidities as this—that they would be welcomed with open arms. It was necessary to create such a fantasy, in order to lure and recruit the mercenaries—that is—to make them believe that our people would receive them with open arms.

Of course, in order to believe such a fantastic thing, one must live in a world quite different from the world of reality. To make anyone believe that a people would welcome their exploiters with open arms, that our masses of workers and farmers, that our people who hardly two years ago, had abolished the bloody tyranny that filled our homeland with the bodies of young people, of humble men, that our masses would receive with open arms that horde which was a mixture of the worst elements, of the millionaire playboys together with henchmen and parasites, to make anyone believe that our people would be capable of receiving them with open arms, is to live in a world of fantasy.

But we must stop to think not of what the mercenaries believed or were led to believe, but of what was in the minds of those who sent them to invade our land. And they knew—they certainly knew—they knew only too well, that our people would not receive them with

open arms, that our people would not receive that criminal invasion with open arms.

The enemy knew only too well that the people would not support the counterrevolutionaries. And so they based their strategy on this fact. The strategy outlined by the Yankee military machine was not the kind that would be followed by anyone who expected the people to join the counterrevolution. On the contrary, it was a strategy planned by those who knew that the people supported the revolution.

That is why they adapted their war plans to the real situation of which they were well aware, and tried to capture a part of our national territory. They did not choose an open battlefield, but an area of our national territory that had very little accessibility. A place that could only be reached by way of three roads that had been built by the Revolution; three roads, each of which was a Thermopylae pass, that is, a narrow road a few kilometers long, bordered on both sides by impassible swamps and quagmires, roads that from a military point of view, are very easy to defend but very difficult to capture.¹ There was also an airport on the site which would have permitted them air communication abroad, and a deep bay for the transportation of all the necessary supplies by sea.

And the forces that the enemy sent were more than enough to defend those roads; they were more than enough because the roads were so narrow, it was virtually impossible to deploy a greater amount of forces to defend them. From a tactical point of view, in studying the terrain and choosing the appropriate place, the Pentagon strategists did very well.

THEY PLANNED TO START A WAR OF EXHAUSTION

The objective of that strategy was precisely to establish a foothold in our national territory where they would have set up a counterrevolutionary government, which will receive aid more openly — as if the support they were already receiving was not evident enough — and would have started a war of exhaustion against our country.

¹ See map of operations on page 57.



Major Fidel Castro Ruz

Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government.

They actually planned to start a war of exhaustion against our country adding to all the aggressive measures already taken, such as the total cutting off of our trade, the complete abolition of our sugar quota, the embargo on all possible exports — all intended to strangle us economically. They planned to establish a base of operations for their forces on our national territory, to convert it into an imperialist bastion, reinforce it with as many mercenary soldiers as they could recruit from all over the world, and support them with all the economic and military resources of the empire.

When all this is taken into account, we realize just what such a war would have meant to our country, what it would have meant for our people who would have had to work under the constant bombardment of enemy planes, who would have had to travel throughout the national territory to transport our products to all parts of the island which is long and narrow. All this gives us an idea as to the extent, not only of the material damage, but above all, of the human suffering and loss of life that such a war would have imposed on our country.

And in order to take over a part of our territory that could only be reached by way of three narrow roads, 1,400 men were more than enough — 1,400 men who, in addition, were followed by a whole supply fleet, and behind it, the Yankee Navy units; 1,400 men who brought with them many fully equipped bombers from perfectly organized bases abroad, and even further behind these, there was a U. S. Navy aircraftcarrier.

That is why I said that in order to estimate the extent of the crime that Yankee imperialism attempted to commit against our people, we must know exactly what their plans were. What destruction, how much blood and how many lives such plans would have cost our country. It is not to be assumed that the Revolution would have succumbed; nor was it to be assumed that the revolutionaries would have simply surrendered, nor that the enemy would have achieved its objective of destroying the Revolution. But what was to be assumed was what all the people knew, what everyone understood — that our people would have resisted the attack at any cost.

But the price would have been high; the price would have been extremely high.

In spite of this, the ones who made the plans did not refrain from carrying out their intentions. Those who made the plans did not worry over how much mourning and how much sorrow they would have brought on the country. The violation of the most elementary international laws did not stop them; the violation of the most elementary principles of human rights did not stop them; they didn't take into the slightest consideration the opinion of the continent. None of this stopped them.

Only one thing held them back, only one reality stopped them. And that reality was our people. The barrier they met was our combatants.

THEY MADE A MISTAKE IN JUDGING THE MORALE OF OUR PEOPLE

What international law could not prevent, what international organizations could not prevent, the crime that no legal institution, no regional or world organization could prevent, was prevented by the brave soldiers of our country.

Where did they make their mistake — those who had laid the plans so carefully? What was their error? They made their mistake in judging the morale of our people, the courage of our people, the strength of a revolution. That strength, that courage, that morale was what the enemy was not capable of judging, among other things, because these forces are not measurable, because the courage of a people who defend their land, the moral and strength of a revolution that defends the righteousness of its cause, cannot be measured. That is why the aggressors fail in the face of all true revolutions — because they have always been incapable of judging the strength of revolutions.

They thought it was simply a matter of sending a squadron of bomber planes over our country any one morning, unexpectedly, to drop bombs and "rockets" in a surprise attack; they thought that the noise of bombs exploding, would be enough to create panic among the people, to terrorize the nation and to frighten our combatants.

They counted on the fact that the attack would be a surprise, and in their estimates they were sure that the cowardly attack, that the criminal attack, one morning, or Saturday at dawn, would demoralize the people, that it would demoralize the Revolution, and furthermore, that it would completely do away with our few old fighter planes. In order to attain absolute air superiority, a complete control of the air, among other things, they counted on destroying our last plane.

Thus, after having terrified the people, demoralized our armed forces and stripped us of our aircraft, they would have been able to control the battlefield with their planes.

That was their first big mistake — an error in calculation — a military error. The bombings did not intimidate the people nor did they demoralize or frighten anyone; instead, they filled our citizens with wrath and indignation. Furthermore, the bombings failed to destroy anything but an insignificant part of our old and battered aircraft.¹

The men in the Pentagon believe that they are the only ones who have the power to think; those in the Pentagon think themselves to be super-intelligent people, and they consider others as super-imbeciles; the men in the Pentagon think themselves endowed with wisdom; they also believed that the strength of their forces would discourage the revolutionaries. Those in the Pentagon did not stop for a minute to meditate over the fact that our Revolution was forged out of practically nothing, that it sprouted from a mere insignificant beginning and that our people were accustomed to fighting against superior forces, against the numerical superiority and superior weapons of the enemy.

They thought that everything would be accomplished exactly as they had planned, but things did not turn out as they expected. Our planes were scattered in different places; our fields were fully protected by antiaircraft batteries; and the cowardly, criminal surprise attack²

¹ This refers to the criminal air attack on Cuban airports and cities on the morning of April 15, 1961, two days before the invasion, made by United States planes painted with Cuban Air Force insignias. See "Operation Prelude" on pages 52, 250 and 288.

² This also refers to the air attack that took place before the invasion.

could only destroy a few of those planes. In spite of the fact that our planes were few, old and battered, in spite of the fact that the bombings destroyed some of them, there were still more than enough planes for the pilots we had. So, the cowardly, criminal and treacherous bombings served only as a warning, a warning of the imminence of an attack; it only served as warning that gave us 48 hours to mobilize our defenses and to prepare ourselves for the attack that was in view. Yes indeed, that bombing made the imminence of an attack evident.

And that is just what happened. Landing forces were approaching since the early morning hours on the 17th, and they began to take positions in the chosen territory. They had organized their plans. They brought with them the weapons for the new contingents that would land later on, and the food supply was carefully planned for their day to day needs, as is customary with the Pentagon. Paratroopers were ready to jump over the strategic points at dawn, and their complete air control was taken for granted. At the first moment, they met with the most determined resistance of the few militiamen who happened to be around. But when the enemy shouted "surrender", those militiamen answered by saying, "Fatherland or Death!", and opened fire.

And this was perhaps the first surprise that the invaders recieved: the fortitude of those men, who all alone with nothing more than their infantry rifles, started the resistance and gave warning of the presence of the enemy in that area.

THE SECOND SURPRISE ENCOUNTERED BY THE MERCENARIES

The second surprise occurred at dawn, when the invaders were quietly unloading their war equipment, and when the soldiers of their "famous" expeditionary forces, in their flashy uniforms, were landing, as though they were going on a picnic. Suddenly, as this was taking place our few, old and battered planes, loaded with bombs, rockets and bullets, appeared in the sky. Ironically, these bombs, rockets, bullets and planes were the same ones that the imperialists had once given Batista to flight us.

And that, undoubtedly, was the second big surprise, the second big mistake in the plans made by the imperialists, the "brains" in the Pentagon, who had not counted on the heavy shower of bombs and bullets that came down upon invaders so early in the morning.

Our planes were few, old and battered, but they were flown by men who upheld the motto, "Fatherland or Death", and by men who were sincerely determined to win or die. And the enemy realized that their planes were not the masters of the sky; they encountered the persistent and heroic resistance of our pilots, who concentrated their efforts, particularly, on destroying the enemy ships.

Meanwhile, our scanty forces maintained a firm resistance. And another thing that perhaps the Pentagon had not counted on, was the immediate arrival of a combat battalion made up of students from the School for Militia Instructors in Matanzas, which reinforced the heroic Cienfuegos battalion. But the timing of the imperialist plans was perfect; they arrived right on schedule, they started to land right on schedule, they dropped all of their paratroopers at the strategic points according to plans. Everything would have been perfect, had not half of their ships been sunk by noon, and had not the road of the Australia Sugar Mill leading to Playa Larga, fallen into our hands.

That day, our few, old and battered planes could not offer our infantry very much air protection, since these planes were concentrating their attacks on the most important target at that moment — the enemy ships. Nevertheless, the infantry was able to advance, and while under the fire of enemy planes, it took position. That was when the real battle began.

The "brains" in the Pentagon most certainly knew that we had received a number of tanks, anti-aircraft artillery and cannons, but they estimated that we would not yet be prepared on that date, to use those tanks, those cannons and that anti-aircraft equipment. They erred once more in not being able to conceive the calmness with which our armed forces prepared the tank crews and the men who would operate the artillery.

They thought that all of those tanks and cannons would have been stored away on the day of the attack,

because there was not time enough for us to have trained people to operate them.

And this assumption was also included in the plans made by the Pentagon geniuses. They could not conceive that revolutions accomplish incredible things in normal times; that a revolutionary people are capable of preparing themselves much quicker than a people in a state of normalcy, oppression or exploitation.

WEAPONS PREPARED FOR VICTORY

And actually thousands upon thousands, of humble workers and young people were voluntarilly recruited and hastily trained to operate those weapons; and the enemy could not even imagine that on the day of the attack, those weapons were ready for battle and ready for victory. So, what had happened to them by midday of the 17th, was only the beginning, it was only a sample of what was to come. From there on, the battle continued uninterrupted. After they had fought a whole day and when the invaders considered that it was time they took a rest, our 122nd howitzer and tank divisions were put into action. If they thought that there would be a let up in the fighting, they were soon convinced otherwise, when our artillerymen and tank crews, who did not wait for dawn, started to attack enemy positions during the early morning hours on the 18th. When at dawn, the planes that had been harrassing our unprotected infantry returned, they encountered fire from 54 artillery guns.

Our battalions were already advancing along the roads and through every corner of the innermost part of the area that the enemy had tried to capture. And attacks were also launched on the two other roads of access to the territory where the enemy was entrenched.

Thus, there was one surprise after another, error after error, and things happened so quickly, that the enemy didn't even have time to react or to recover. I'm not referring to the enemy that was here on our beach, but to the main enemy — the one overseas. Not even the Pentagon had time to meet and discuss the situation, because long before such a meeting could be called, there was no longer a beachhead at Playa Girón. For on the 19th, our forces,

advancing from all directions, surrounded and defeated the enemy.

THERE WASN'T EVEN A DUNKIRK FOR THE ENEMY

Not even the story of Dunkirk could fit in here. There was no Dunkirk for those flashy invaders and precisely, to prevent such an occurrence, we didn't give the enemy one minute of rest or let-up in the fighting. No ship, nor the likes of it, dared to come to their rescue. Our tanks and artillery immediately took possession of the coasts and stood on the alert to see what would happen.

During the three days of combat, Yankee aircraft-carriers lurked near our shores. More than once their planes buzzed our territory in an attempt to frighten us, and occasionally, even opened fire.

Our troops were not only ready to fight against the mercenary force, but were also ready to fight whatever followed it, while the Yankee leaders bordered on hysteria.

Such a violent and surprising defeat was beyond the imperialist's imagination, and out of pride and anger, they immediately started to threaten and give warning, that they were ready to act unilaterally in Cuba's case. It was thus necessary to transfer the bulk of the troops back to the capital city, where they came from, and where they remained alert, awaiting developments. Other forces were sent to the combat area to capture the rest of the invaders.

The glory of our combatants lies not only in the bravery and heroism with which they fought and defeated the enemy vanguard, but also in their willingness to face the imperialist army if it dared invade our soil.

We didn't prepare that attack. They planned it, thus we are not to blame for the defeat they suffered. They attacked us, so they themselves are the only ones to blame for their humiliating defeat.

From a military point of view, the importance of that battle at Playa Larga and Playa Girón, in the Ciénaga de Zapata territory, rests in the fact that the "bridgehead" was quickly destroyed, preventing the enemy from going ahead with its plans. The enemy could not carry out its strategy; the enemy could not land the bulk of its forces. Basically, the importance of all this lies in the fact that

their plans were spoiled from the very moment that it became impossible for them to establish a beachhead, from the very moment that they could not take over a part of our territory. All their other plans were left hanging in the air, when the force was wiped out, which they sent to accomplish the first tasks.

THE CALMNESS OF OUR FORCES

Of course, not only was it a great victory for our people, but our forces maintained a calm and firm attitude, seldom seen in the history of any war. In spite of the fact that they made our soldier's blood boil; in spite of the fact that the deepest indignation burned within them, they were calm and determined.

What merit did those invaders have? What merit could they have? They were not the Granma expeditionaries;¹ they were not the 82 men in a small ship 60 ft. long, without food, lost in the Gulf of Mexico, in the Caribbean Sea, without a supply base, without an air force, without a fleet, without the Yankee army to support them, without aircraft carriers, without submarines and without battle-ships. They were not a revolutionary force. As a rule, the revolutionaries receive help from no one when they are forging their revolution, when they start their struggle; usually, they suffer from want of practically everything, they suffer persecution, they lack means, weapons, transportation, any kind of protection. They usually throw themselves into the fight against a whole army, with only the scantiest means available to them.

When there is belief in the masses, when there is faith in the cause because it is a just one, then there is no need for tanks, nor bomber planes, nor heavy mortars, nor "bazookas", and much less for the support of a fleet. Only the protégés of Yankee millionaires, representatives of slavery and wealth, representatives of fortune and privileges, can obtain the support of a navy or an army.

When we began our struggle against privileges and the powerful rich and exploitation, and began our in-

¹ The expedition of the "Granma", a yacht in which Fidel Castro and 82 other fighters landed in Belic on the Southern coast of Oriente province, December 2, 1956, giving way to the armed insurrection against the Batista tyranny.

surrection, we had nothing behind us but the wake of our little ship. And that is the infinite difference between the two causes that we represent. Our cause took a firm stand, faced all kinds of hardships, and was victorious; the Revolution of the people, the Revolution of the poor came into power; when the counterrevolution of the powerful, of the rich, of the exploiters, came to recover its privileges, it was financed by the big monopolies, the unending millions of an empire, and was supported by its navy, its planes, its training camps, its airfields, its air forces, it also had the help of puppet governments; how easy they had it.

The weapons came from Yankee arsenals; the food supply came from Yankee warehouses; the clothing, the campaign equipment, and the war rations came from Yankee Army stocks. And their expedition was prepared at many bases located on Vieques Island in the oppressed sister-nation of Puerto Rico, all through United States territory and in Guatemala and Nicaragua; all the power of the millionaires was behind them, all the millions of the powerful exploiters were behind them. That was the cause they represented.

On the other hand, the expedition of the small and solitary ship that embodied a just cause — the cause of the poor — succeeded. We fought for 25 months and came to power, while the cause of the exploiters, of the privileged, of the millionaires, of the powerful, failed — such a cause could not even be preserved for 72 hours.

And that is what the Yankee logistics, the Pentagon logistics, and their strategic plans, did not take into consideration. That is why their terrorist plans failed, that is why their counterrevolutionary bands were also wiped out, in spite of all the weapons they received by air and sea.¹

They took vengeance on our teachers, our literacy brigaders, on our people's literacy teachers; and in doing so, first they murdered a voluntarily teacher, Conrado

¹ This refers to the saboteurs and counter-revolutionary group activities, encouraged by imperialism and supplied and armed by way of air drops made from American planes in the Escambray mountains and in other regions. These bands were finally wiped out by the militia and the Rebel Army. (From December 1960 to April 1961). See page 52.

Benítez. Later they murdered a people's literacy teacher and worker, Delfin Sen, and later together with the father of a farm family, a peasant, they murdered the brigadier, Manuel Ascunce. Only the blind hate and maliciousness of the exploiters, of the imperialists, of the counterrevolutionaries, conceive such acts, that they thought would go unpunished. But what has happened during the course of this year? What has happened during the course of the last 12 months since the crushing victory at Playa Girón? The murderer of Delfin Sen was captured and shot with all his gang. The leader of the gang that murdered literacy brigadier, Manuel Ascunce, was captured and shot. And finally, as a symbolic coincidence, a day after commemorating the beginning of the battle in April of last year, the murderer of volunteer teacher Conrado Benítez, was surrounded and killed when he tried to escape.

THEY WILL NOT ESCAPE THE PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

So they can write this phrase on the coat-of-arms of imperialism, the coat-of-arms of the paid assassins of imperialism: "You will not escape. You will not escape". You will not escape the justice of the people! Murderers, murderers of teachers, murderers of teen-aged literacy brigadiers, you will not escape! Murderers of workers, like the ones who committed sabotage by burning the "El Encanto" Department Store, causing the death of that outstanding worker, Fe del Valle; neither will they escape the justice of the people! Murderers of workers, murderers of farmers, murderers of teachers, murderers of literacy teachers, murderers of literacy brigadier will not escape the justice of the people, just as the criminals, who during the war took the lives of thousands of young people in the mountains and in the cities, did not escape.

They did not escape! Neither the petty nor the most ruthless criminals escaped, nor will they escape, nor will those who organize gangs of murderers, escape the verdict of history, which is not merely a verdict of words, but a verdict that relentlessly marks the fate of exploiters all over the world. A verdict that is like a clock ticking out these words: "Your days are numbered, the end of your exploitation system is near."

This clock may be heard in the hearts of the exploited people, timing their inescapable fate; these are not simple phrases.

We have only to take an overall view of the world; above all, America. The Cuban Revolution still stands, and is becoming stronger every day. Today, one year after that cowardly sneak attack, the Cuban Revolution is commemorating the first anniversary of that victory. Furthermore, the Revolution will continue to commemorate this day for years and years to come.

The work of the Revolution advances. Since then, almost a million Cubans have learned to read and write. Neither the invaders nor their horrible crimes could prevent us from carrying out our literacy campaign.¹ They could not keep the hundreds of thousands of our fellow countrymen, from receiving an education or from teaching fellow countrymen, whom society, that exploiting, vicious society, had denied the opportunity of learning the alphabet.

Our plans in all fields, but primarily our plans in the field of education on which depend our great hopes for the future, are being carried through; they are moving ahead. Thousands of youngsters who went into the countryside and mountains to teach, returned victorious. And today, they make up the legions of enthusiastic students wholly dedicated to learning, so that they may forge the Cuba of tomorrow.

THE REVOLUTION BECOMES MORE SOLID AND STRONGER

Imperialism was not able to halt our plans, nor our progress, on all fronts. And that is why the Revolution is becoming more solid and stronger, backed by the people

¹ The massive literacy campaign carried out during 1961, the "Year of Education", was not held up—not even when the mercenary invasion took place. It was accomplished by young students who voluntarily joined, by the thousands, into "Conrad Benítez" brigades, named after a voluntary teacher who was brutally murdered by counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray territory. Thousands of worker brigades and teachers of the people who taught reading and writing in the most remote corners of the countryside, also joined the huge campaign undertaken by the Revolution to convert Cuba into a "Territory Free of Illiteracy".

and close to the people, because the Revolution is made up of just that: the people.

And the government in whose territory the expedition was organized and the mercenaries trained, cannot say the same, neither can the tyrant who governs Guatemala; because if by any chance he, too, commemorates the anniversary of this defeat, he most certainly will not be able to commemorate the second, because he is losing power, because he can no longer maintain the situation in his country. He is being swept away by his people. He cannot even be saved by Kennedy's support. Neither can other governments which lent themselves to the attack against our country.

The proletarian democracy, the proletarian government is becoming stronger and stronger in our country. But that pseudo-democracy cannot say the same; that so-called "representative democracy", which is nothing more than the ferocious dictatorship of the exploiting oligarchies against the people. Nor can the tottering government of Rómulo Betancourt say the same, one year after the imperialist defeat at Girón. We may ask ourselves if he might commemorate the second anniversary of the defeat of the imperialists at Girón. For there was one of them who notably commemorated the first anniversary of the defeat of the imperialists — the pseudo-democratic government the so — called "representative democracy" of Argentina. There it was not even the people, but the "gorillas" that overthrew it. But to the same degree that this has made the Argentinian political system take a backward step, it has brought the Argentinian people closer to the hour of their revolution.

The proletarian government, the proletarian revolution is advancing; the "representative democracies" of Ydígoras, Betancourt and Company, are tottering — they are falling — at times shaken by the people, and at other times shaken by the most reactionary imperialist forces.

And from what we can see, while the Cuban Revolution could not and cannot be destroyed, in spite of all the economic and military aggressions and in spite of not having received a single penny from imperialism, their "representative democracies" continue to fail, no matter

what help imperialism offers them — which is, in fact, very little.

What would happen if they were attacked the way imperialism has attacked the proletarian revolution? What would happen if their regimes had to resist the seige, the embargo, the blockade that imperialism has imposed on the proletarian revolution? What would happen, how long would they last if even being fully propped-up by imperialism, they are falling? Yet as imperialism tries to destroy us through every means possible, instead of crumbling, our Revolution becomes stronger and stronger every day.

THE PEOPLE OF GUATEMALA FIGHT ONCE MORE TO BREAK THEIR CHAINS

And what prospects did imperialists offer our country? What solution did they offer our country? The solution they gave Guatemala, the solution they gave our sister-nation of Guatemala, with the invasion and the resultant counterrevolution of Castillo de Armas? Seven years have passed since that act of piracy — seven or eight or nine years since that act of piracy, in which, just as they tried to do at Playa Girón, the enemy launched a hoard of mercenaries from nearby territories, also with the help and complicity, as in our case, of the “puppet-governments”. With the support of bombers, they seized the government of that country, established the worst reactionary regime and took the land away from the farmers.

And what have we in Guatemala at the end of eight years? How were things solved? Blood is being spilled in that sister-nation today; hundreds of young students and workers have been assassinated by the henchmen of the pro-imperialist tyranny; the farmers have lost their land and the workers, their rights. And eight years after that treacherous mercenary invasion, which achieved its objectives, streams of Guatemalan people's blood is still being spilled, the blood of workers, farmers and students. Eight years later there is still a ferocious repression and tyranny in the country, and the people are fighting again to break their chains.

That is what they wanted to give us! New Machados.

new Batistas, new Venturas, new Chavianos, new Cowley,¹ another "bloody Christmas", another chain of bodies of murdered young people, hunger, unemployment, discrimination, inhuman exploitation, slavery for the farmers, pitiless oppression of the working masses. That is what they had in store for us — a blood bath. For how else could they have seized the country again if not by creating a blood bath, by piling bodies high and by trampling the ashes of our national territory. And that is what they had in store for us.

They thought we were going to receive them with open arms, as if freed slaves longed for the whip and chain of their masters of yesterday.

Neither eight years from now, nor ever again will our workers, our farmers, nor our students be machine-gunned by their exploiters, by the mercenary armies of exploiting oligarchies, by the possessors of wealth, of the land, of the industries. Never again will they fall under the homicidal bullets of armies that have been armed and organized by imperialism — never again — because the people are and always will be the owners of their own destiny and of their wealth. Because more and more men and women will be working as our economy develops; we will become, more and more each day, a nation of workers and students.

Imperialism can only offer scenes like those at the University of Guatemala, where young people fell murdered by the "porra" (secret police). On the other hand, the every-day picture of the Revolution which everyone can see, is a multitude of scholarship students in their uniforms and with books under their arms, enthusiastically going to high school, technological school, colleges and universities.

How different are the prospect offered to the proletariat by the Revolution than that presented by imperialism. Within 15 years — which goes quickly in the life of a people — the scholarship plan alone, without counting the regular students, will yield 100,000 technicians from our Universities. We will have hundreds of thousands of tech-

¹ Machado and Batista were dictators of two different epochs in which they ruled Cuba by force and sold out the country to the American monopolies. The overthrow of Batista on January 1, 1959, gave way to the beginning of the Revolution. Ventura, Chaviano and Cowley were the most notorious murderers during the Batista tyranny.

nicians. What a great future, what an extraordinary future!

We have only to prepare our people. It is important to train the people because our country has enough natural resources to develop a great industry and an extraordinary economy. And if we have the natural resources, then what are we lacking? We are lacking skilled human resources, so we are developing them. We are lacking machinery and factories; but we are installing these factories. We will not lack the financial resources; we will not lack magnificent natural resources; we do lack the human resources, but since we have a willing and enthusiastic people we shall also have those human resources that we need. And above all, as we carry through our study plans for the technical training of the whole working class, for the training of hundreds of thousands of technicians, undoubtedly, our country will have an extraordinary future, for it has all it needs to guarantee that future.

WE HAVE DISTRIBUTED MORE EVENLY WHAT WE HAD

Our present problems deceive no one, confuse no one. When we fought the imperialist forces, we knew that they were not thinking of destroying the present, but that they wanted to destroy our future. For our present was none other than what they left us; a poor economy, an underdeveloped and backward industry, an absolute dependence on one market. We could have no present other than the one they left us. We then had to make a better distribution of what we had; we distributed more evenly what they left us.

The tyranny left us without reserves. It had virtually spent hundreds of millions of dollars of the country's reserves in the seven years of squandering and bloodshedding it imposed on us. We had no other choice but to put to better use and to distribute more evenly what we had.

True, our economy was dependent on one market — unfortunately, the Yankee market. Almost all our spare parts and factories came from American companies. Our economy was completely geared to depend on one market, and imperialism took advantage of that fact to do us all

the harm they possibly could, by trying to strangle our economy and to defeat us through hunger, by placing before us every imaginable road block, thus, putting our people to a hard test.

True, they had left us very little, and the little they did leave us was virtually dependent on the will of our Yankee exploiters. The only thing we could do was to take better advantage of the little we had, and of what they left us, so that no child would go to bed hungry, so that no Cuban table would lack food, so that we could offer employment, so that every family could have an income. We had to manage with what little had been left us, and to begin preparing for the future.

An so our big task is our future. Imperialism is trying to deceive the people of America by blaming the revolutionary measures for the damages caused by the embargo and economic aggression.

The imperialists do not say that they have created these problems for us with their aggressions and embargo; they blame the revolutionary laws. And in this deceptive way, they are trying to confuse the people, but as times change, as the years go by, when the new generations are born and we begin to harvest the fruits of today's work, we will see then that our country will be full of factories. When our workers obtain more technical knowledge, when we will have hundreds of thousands of technicians, when we multiply the productivity of our work, we will be proud to think about all of the sacrifices we are making today, and then we will be able to say: "This has not been a victory without effort nor a victory without sacrifices." Tomorrow we will be able to say: "We have a right to these benefits, because we earned them, because we are not a people who thought of bread for today and hunger for tomorrow". Of course, there were some who never knew hunger, but there were many who did. The capitalist regime offered "hunger for today and more hunger for tomorrow."

The Socialist Revolution offers bread for today and more bread for tomorrow!

WE HONOR VICTORY BY WORKING

This leads us to the conviction that work is the most important thing in this Revolution, that the duty of the

worker is the most sacred duty of the Revolution, and that to be called a worker, to have the most honorable title in this society; for it is the worker who creates the wealth, the bread for all. Our society has to become more and more a society of workers, a society of those who produce, a society in which there are fewer parasites.

Because the parasites of the exploiting society, the parasites of the bourgeoisie and their lackey cohorts, nurture themselves on the sweat of the workers. And it takes but little common sense to understand that there will be more wealth and greater production in a nation with more people who work, with less parasites and less idleness, than there will be in a nation in which idleness increases and where there are less people who work.

All this indicates that the great task of our people is to produce. On this particular Thursday of every year, all work was stopped from noon on, in keeping with the traditions of Holy Week, but this year, it was agreed that there would be a work recess only on Friday, considering the need for work and production. Of course we failed to reach this conclusion early enough to notify all workers and employees on time. There have been some complaints about this. Nevertheless, is there room for such complaints on a day like today? After all, even today, in what way have we honored the victory and those who made the victory possible? By working!

The Revolution has created new Holidays: the first of January, already a traditional holiday, will be celebrated on January 2nd, and the 26th of July,¹ two new holidays. The Revolution has established a month's vacation. This right is going to be extended by law to all state employees.

So consolidating our revolution, circumstances arise such as the holding of a mass meeting and losing a whole day's work, then we should try to arrange things so that this celebration be held on a Sunday. And if it occurs on a week-day, then we must make up for lost work on Saturday or Sunday,

¹ January 1, 1959: The triumph of the Cuban Revolution after the overthrow of the Batista tyranny. July 26, 1953: The attack on the "Moncada" fortress carried out by a group of young men commanded by Fidel Castro. This attack was the beginning of the armed uprising against the tyranny.

because the most sacred, the most important responsibility, the primary duty of each citizen is to produce. The people need many material things, they need clothing, shoes, food on the table every day, medicine, housing and many other things. But to be able to sit at the table every day, the people have to produce. These things will not fall from heaven like manna. Man must earn them by working with the means he has, by coping with nature and by working.

For the exploiters, for the capitalists, the wealth does fall from heaven. It comes from the sweat of the workers. But in a society that eliminates all exploitation of man by man, there will be no exploiters, no one will become wealthy by a sort of divine right to benefit from the sweat of others; everyone will produce. We must create that wealth and we have to do it by working. Therefore, we must honor work, we must increase productivity. How can we increase productivity? With new technique, with new machines. How can we acquire new technique, new machines? By producing, by working, by making all of our factories and enterprises pay for themselves. This is the way — the only way — to satisfy all our needs, to satisfy our needs, to invest in new machinery, to invest in new factories, that will increase work productivity; to train new technicians to satisfy the needs of the people.

Thus, we as a working people, must put our minds on our work. We must think more and more about the goodness of work, and we must realize that only we can produce the things we want, the things we need, that only from our work can we obtain them. And in this spirit, we should face the task in the countryside, in the cities and on all fronts, with a sense of duty, with our minds on the people, on their needs, on satisfying their needs, on the increasing population, on the population that needs the benefits obtained from this work.

Today I wanted to meditate a little over many of these things, because in doing so, with the future in mind, we are able to analyze and commemorate these historic events. This is the way we must show our loyalty towards those who have fallen; this is the way we must honor our dead.

So today, the people are united in this commemoration, the representatives of our heroic combat units, our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces, together with the families

of heroes who fell in battle, together with the working people, together with the Revolutionary Government, together with the revolutionary leaders. They are united in their expression of the true meaning of the Revolution: the worker who works and produces with his tools; the worker who stands on guard with his rifle and defends the integrity of his country.

Workers who produce, workers who stand on guard, soldiers who are willing to produce, workers willing to become soldiers, all willing to become soldiers if our country needs them, or to go into production if our country does not need soldiers.

THE REVOLUTION WILL BE RELENTLESS WITH THE ENEMY

Those are our people, that is our Revolution. It was against this Revolution and these people that the imperialist invaders came to fight. All aggressions against these people are bound to fail, for they failed at Playa Girón when we had only "a few old dilapidated planes". But if they repeat such a thing, they will find that our planes are neither old, nor dilapidated nor are there few of them!

At Girón, our forces were prepared for combat, not only against a force such as the mercenary brigade, but against several such forces. May no one think that they engaged then all of our infantry troops and artillery in combat; and our strength has grown since! The situation is different now. No more inexperienced and hastily-trained troops. The enemy will encounter a much more efficient, a much better trained and more fully equipped and organized army.

Our forces have increased considerably since then—we warn them! We warn the enemy that it is worth their while to take heed. The Revolution has decreed more severe laws. It has taken more drastic measures. Since the murder of literacy brigader, Manuel Ascunce, the Revolution has been relentless with its enemies!¹

¹ After the death of the young brigader, Manuel Ascunce Domenech, who was brutally murdered by counter revolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains where he was teaching farmers to read and write, the Revolutionary Government proclaimed a penalty law to be applied to saboteurs and criminals at the service of the imperialists. This law established stern and heavy sanctions for the enemies of the people.

Enough is enough! We have given them more than enough time to have learned their lesson. If they attack our country again, they had better make their wills before coming. Regardless of the type of attack — be it direct, by infiltration, with a mercenary force or Marine Corp—the Revolutionary Courts will always be there.

THE REVOLUTION IS PROGRESSING ON ALL FRONTS

The organization of the Revolution is becoming more efficient, not only in the military field, but on all fronts. We should make it advance on all fronts: Agriculture, Industry and Public Administration. We ought to perfect our work and continue perfecting our defenses. We should continue with our educational plans, keep our defenses on the alert and our planes ready and protected, so that the enemy may never destroy them in a surprise attack. Our forces should always be on the alert — always! We should never lower our guard, nor think that the danger has vanished. And last but not least, we should always be prepared to win.

All officers, combatants and revolutionary instructors should never forget the enemy is sneaky, that the enemy is criminal, that the enemy is cowardly and that the enemy attacks by surprise. Every soldier, every combat unit should always be ready at any moment. Defense must never be relaxed. The Revolutionary soldier will never surrender! And when he is left alone, he will fight as if he had a whole army behind him. His mind should always be on the alert. He should have a determined will, he should be firm and always aware of the revolutionary fighter's duty, under all conditions, in the face of all hardships. He should be able to react quickly, as we reacted against the perfidious attack a year ago. No matter who the enemy may be, nor how strong it is, he should react just as those who were on guard at Playa Larga and Playa Girón did. They said " Fatherland or Death"! He should behave at all times as our pilots, our artillerymen, our tank crews, or infantrymen did — always like the young heroes — 14 and 15 year old boys — who manned the antiaircraft

guns; we take as an example that seaman who, being left alone for 3 days on one of the keys south of the Zapata Swamp, did his duty by reporting to the rearguard, all of the enemy's movements.

With that spirit, with that determination, with that fervor, and firmness, we should commemorate this 19th of April as a tribute to our dead who fell in battle, by showing our solidarity towards them, towards those whose children — the children of all the people — whose wives, parents and loved ones will find some condolence and sympathy for their grief, in the peoples friendship and affection towards them. They will also find a reward for their sacrifices in the people's happiness. They will realize that their sacrifices have not been in vain, their profound grief has been compensated somewhat by all the happiness and good they made possible.

When we met with the families we told them how grateful the people were to those who fell. That due to the courage with which they fought, and to their determination to attack and crush the enemy, they stopped the enemy from carrying out its plans, they prevented the enemy from plunging the country into mourning. Because, in effect, if the enemy had captured and held a part of national territory, neither this theater, nor even the Plaza Cívica would have enough space to hold all those who would have had to mourn the loss of their sons, their fathers, their husbands and their brothers.

We express the undying gratitude of our country towards those who fell and spared us so much grief. For we could say that never before, were so many lives saved by so few lives that were lost. Our country will always be grateful for this. Our consideration towards their loved ones is not conferred on them as a privilege, but out of respect for the memory of our fallen "compañeros".

Logically, when it comes to a fight and there is a possibility of death, any combatant, any father, and son, any husband, inevitably thinks of his loved ones; of those he supports and protects with his work. Our deepest respect and consideration for those who are going to die, or to face death, for the loved ones of those who fell — for them, all the help that we can possibly give.

INDEMNIFICATION FOR DAMAGES AND MORAL REPARATION

And we also told them that our Revolutionary Court has demanded indemnification for all damages caused by the invasion, though that indemnification could never compensate for the loss of life that they brought upon us. The moral aspect to this is the most important thing, but even though the material damage takes second place in importance, it is nevertheless important that those who prepared the invasion, pay Cuba for the damages caused by it. Another important fact is that the invaders had to return or will have to return without being able to say as Julius Cesar said: "I came, I saw, I conquered", but that they will have to say instead: "I came, I saw, I was crushed."

And that together with the defeated, the most responsible culprits will have to lower their heads and also pay for their crimes. The moral significance of this situation is that the imperialist country, that powerful country that did not judge its power when it made the criminal plans against our peace-loving nation, against our working people, against our small country, will have to pay, somehow or other, whether directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, for all the material damages they have caused us. In spite of the fact that the reparations of material damages cannot compensate for human lives lost, we are going to invest that money in medicine, surgical instruments, means for producing childrens food — that money will be used to save many lives, bring health to our people, particularly to our children. It will help to compensate a little for the irreplaceable damages.

Compañeros: our dead command us, but let's not say they are deceased. As the poet Nicolás Guillén says, they are more alive than ever, that they eternally live on in the beat of each Cuban heart, they live on in our blood, in our devotion, in our efforts, they live on in each university student, in each child in our playgrounds, in each pioneer that goes to school. They live on in each of our soldiers, in each worker's center, in each battalion, in each unit, in each division. They live on in each citizen of our country and they command us to fulfill our duty.

FATHERLAND OR DEATH! WE WILL WIN!

THE SUMMARY TRIAL

**The invasion:
First major defeat
of imperialism
in America**

*The indictment in the
Summary Trial of the
mercenary invaders
of Playa Girón.*

The indictment in the summary trial of the mercenaries who invaded Playa Girón, which was held in Havana beginning March 29, 1962 constitutes in itself a complete history of the mercenary invasion. The Document sums up the facts, reviewing the background of the aggression in regard to all the criminal activity carried out, both within Cuba and abroad, during the months preceding the invasion, by the Yankee imperialists and their agents who tightened the economic blockade of Cuba and increased the counterrevolutionary activity of their saboteurs within Cuba, in order to prepare the ground for the criminal attack.

In the account of the events and their background, the direct participation of imperialism, of President Kennedy, of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the generals in the Pentagon, was revealed, as Kennedy himself openly and cynically confessed later. These accounts denounced the mercenary character of the invasion brigade, made up of latifundists, war criminals, corrupt politicians, mugs, torturers, falangist priests, "spoiled brats" and lumpen proletariat of all types. These elements united with the interests of the imperialists to defeat the Revolution and to return our country to a past of exploitation, misery vice, crime, and violence; a past which the Cuban people left behind them with the triumph of the Revolution.

The fundamental statements and definitions in the indictment are later amply confirmed by the confessions of the mercenaries themselves and their leaders, whose testimonies are also included in this book.

The complete text of the indictment which was read at the summary trial on March 29, 1962, is as follows:

Havana
March 15, 1962
"Year of Planning"

To: Legal Department

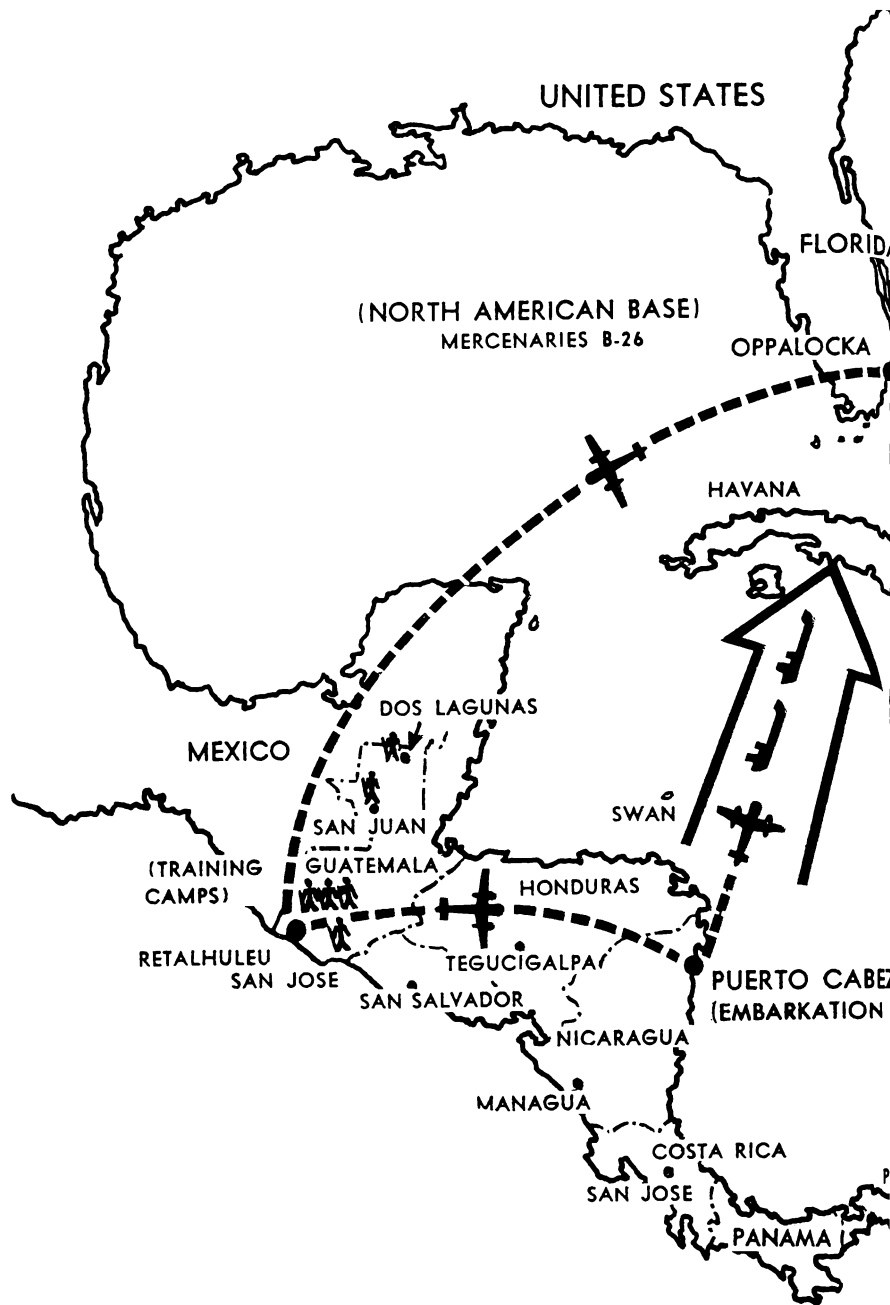
Ministry of Revolutionary Armed Forces

From: Special Investigator for the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

The undersigned officer, carrying out instructions from the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, hereby reports on the results of the investigation made concerning the mercenary invasion of our country on April 17, 1961, which are as follows:

At 2:30 on the 17th of April, 1961, a mercenary brigade coming from Puerto Cabezas, Republic of Nicaragua, began landing operations on the southern coast of the province of Las Villas, in the zone known as the Zapata Swamp. This brigade was made up of some 1,500 men, recruited from latifundists, real estate owners, war criminals, former Batista soldiers, the well-to-do petty bourgeoisie, merchants, industrialists, fugitives from revolutionary justice, traitors, and lumpen proletariat. They were trained, armed, directed, and paid by the imperialist Government of the United States of America.

The mercenary fleet, under the name of the "Naval Tactical Group", was made up of 5 armed merchant ships owned by the García Lines Shipping Company; the **Houston**, the **Atlantic**, the **Río Escondido**, the **Caribe**, and the **Lake Charles**, with the respective code names of **Aguja**, **Tiburón**, **Ballena**, **Sardina**, and **Atún**; 3 modified and armed LCI units of the type used by the U.S. Navy, named the **Blagar** and the **Bárbara J.**, whose code names were **Marsopa** and **Barracuda**; 3 LCU barges for the transport and landing of heavy equipment, tanks, and armored trucks; and 4 LCVP barges for the transport and the moving of





personnel. These departed from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, sailed separately, and rendezvoused at 17:00 hours on April 16th northeast of Gran Caiman Island, where they sailed in formation until they met a supply ship twelve miles off the Cuban coast, which was carrying the LCU and LCVP barges which were used in the landing. This invasion fleet was escorted for almost all this distance by U.S. naval units consisting of at least two destroyers which were sighted at some distance by the mercenary convoy during the trip.

The mercenary brigade was made up of 5 battalions of approximately 165 to 171 men each, a heavy arms battalion (mortars, bazookas, anti-tank guns), a tank company, a paratroop battalion, an underwater demolition team, and an air force consisting of 16 B-26's, 8 C-46's and 6 C-54's. The brigade was organized in the following manner: a Brigade Leader, a Political Officer, a Second-in-Command, and a General Staff Company divided into 6 sections: Personnel (G-1), Intelligence (G-2), Operations (G-3), Supply (G-4), Political (G-5), and Administrative, which was subdivided into Military Police, Engineering, Communications, Supply, Armaments, Transportation, and Sanitation.

The plan for the mercenary invasion was to make landings at three points in the Zapata Swamp, one at Playa Larga (Playa Roja), where the **Houston** (Aguja) was to land; another at Playa Girón (Playa Azul), where the **Río Escondido** (Ballena) and the **Atlantic** (Tiburón) were to land; and a third at Caleta Verde (Playa Verde) where the **Blagar** (Marsopa), the **Bárbara J.** (Barracuda) and the **Lake Charles** (Atún) were to land. In the meantime, the air transport battalion was to occupy positions north of Playa Girón and Playa Larga around San Blas and Soplillar respectively, with the object of blocking access to the landing and operations zone. This was aimed at isolating the area completely with the intention of strengthening positions, establishing a provisional government there, initiating and carrying out a war of attrition, and assuring conditions for a full scale civil war which would facilitate the direct intervention of the imperialist Government of the United States.

THE LANDING

Landing plans, however, had to be modified when the invaders met the resistance of small units of the National Revolutionary Militia and when the **Lake Charles** was delayed. Therefore, the general staff and the company of the general staff, the intelligence and reconnaissance company, and battalions 3 and 4, the heavy arms battalion and the tank company, landed at Playa Girón; the Second-in-Command, the second battalion, and part of the fifth battalion, whose transport ship, the **Houston**, was sunk by the Revolutionary Air Force, landed at Playa Larga. The mercenary units occupied the following positions: the second battalion initially occupied Playa Larga and tried to establish contact with company A of the paratroop battalion; the third battalion established its position on the road to Cienfuegos to defend the eastern entrance to Girón; the fourth battalion initially occupied Playa Girón, and in the morning hours of the 17th was kept in reserve with the exception of a company sent to reinforce the paratroop battalion; the fifth battalion was partially destroyed by the sinking of its transport ship; the sixth battalion occupied Playa Girón and on the following day defended the western side of the beach; the heavy arms battalion established its position at Girón and on the following days gave support to the remaining battalions in the positions which they occupied; the tank company supported the first paratroop battalion with 2 tanks, the third battalion with one tank, and held in reserve the 2 remaining tanks, which later reinforced the second battalion at Playa Larga; the paratroop battalion was dropped from four C-46 transports and one C-54 which took off from the air field in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, and occupied positions north of Girón around San Blas at about 6:00 on the 17th, attempting to establish advanced positions north of the swamp in order to close off the highways, and company A of the same first battalion was dropped north of Playa Larga to take advanced positions closing off the highway leading to the Australia Sugar Mill. These operations were supported by 16 B-26's which arrived escorted by U.S. fighter planes which immediately withdrew while a U.S. Navy Aircraft carrier was stationed at a considerable distance off the coast.

RESUME OF OPERATIONS

When the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces was informed that the landing of mercenary forces in the Zapata Swamp had begun, it ordered the mobilization of units towards the zone of operations. Our troops took up positions all around the area occupied by the mercenaries, and under attack by the mercenary air force made contact with the paratroop battalion in the zone of Soplillar and Pálpite, forcing the mercenary troops to retreat and either killing in combat or taking prisoner almost all of the first battalion. Meanwhile, in the morning hours of the 17th, our Revolutionary Air Force attacked the landing ships and forced them to withdraw with the following losses: at Playa Larga 1 LCVP barge and the ship, the *Houston*, with damages to three Corvets and 3 LCVP barges, and at Playa Girón the destruction of 3 LCVP barges and the damaging of 3 ships. In the zone of Playa Larga the enemy, in the face of the advance and counterattack of our forces, was forced to retreat to a point one kilometer from the coast, while on the other flank they occupied Horquita, Cayo Ramona, and part of San Blas. On the night of the 17th, the enemy reinforced their second battalion with 2 tanks, an infantry company, and a mortar unit, but these troops were forced to retreat to Playa Girón at dawn on the 18th under fire from our artillery and combat units. On the same day, the enemy troops were forced to retreat from Playa Larga under the pressure of our forces, to a point close to Playa Girón, where the mercenary troops reinforced the area between both beaches. In the region north of Girón the enemy concentrated its heavy forces on the zone of Jocuma, Cayo Ramona, and San Blas in an attempt to open the way toward the Covadonga Sugar Mill and thus enter the zone of the Escambray Mountains. Around noon on the 18th in the zones of San Blas and Helechal, a violent counter-attack was launched by our forces, while to the south of Cayo Palma, the enemy succeeded in taking the approaches to San Blas, from which they were forced out a little later by the advance of the revolutionary forces. On the 19th, mercenary C-54's dropped supplies to the enemy to replace

those lost by the sinking of the supply ship, the **Blagar**, and our air force caused the enemy the loss of 5 armored trucks, at the same time destroying the water tank and the runway at Playa Girón.

On the 19th the enemy withdrew its tanks to a point near Playa Girón, reinforcing that position with the second battalion, which had retreated from Playa Larga. At dawn that day, a mercenary C-46 tried to pick up the wounded at Girón but was prevented from doing so by the attack of our air force, which forced it to flee. At 18:30 on the 19th, our revolutionary forces took Playa Girón, seizing large quantities of arms from the enemy, whose demoralized and defeated forces scattered, some of them reem-barking, others surrendering, and the rest abandoning their combat positions to flee to the woods and nearby marshes. There, they were captured by our troops in cleanup operations on the following days.

The mercenary air force was destroyed by our anti-aircraft fire and the attack of the Revolutionary Air Force, which shot down 10 of the 16 enemy B-26's and damaged others.

THE DAMAGES

Thus the imperialist attack against our country was rapidly crushed by the brave action of our people and our Revolutionary Armed Forces, resulting in the capture of the mercenaries in the invasion brigade, which will be discussed a little later. This criminal sneak attack caused our country the incalculable loss of dozens of lives of Cuban workers, women, and children who were the victims of indiscriminate air attacks, who were killed while they were peacefully engaged in the constructive work of our Socialist Revolution. In addition, this mercenary invasion brigade caused material damages to our national wealth amounting to several million pesos.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE ARMED AGGRESSION

The criminal aggression committed by mercenary Brigade 2506, which was prepared, organized, financed, and directed by the Government of the United States of Amer-

ica against our country through the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency is not an isolated event, but rather the culmination of a process of aggression promoted by the imperialist Yankee oligarchies through their government. These aggressions are aimed at destroying the Cuban Revolution, preventing the liberation of our people, reestablishing a regime of exploitation of the masses by the imperialist monopolies and the exploiting bourgeoisie, giving back those monopolies the privileges which had been theirs under the corrupt bourgeois governments, and trying to prevent the glorious and mighty example which our Revolution is for the peoples of Latin America.

Aggressions of all types, all kinds of tactics have been used by the imperialist Government of the United States and its agents. These aggressions are of an economic, diplomatic, military, direct or indirect, open and bold-faced or secret and hypocritical nature in their aim to defeat the Revolution.

Let us see how this is true.

The United States shameless policy of intervention and aggression against Cuba was already underway when the Yankee Government welcomed war criminals and traitors of all types into its territory at the beginning of 1959. This policy was reflected in the press campaign which was carried out when our people applied revolutionary justice; on the other hand, there was continued silence about the 20,000 murders committed by the Batista tyranny. This policy was shown the day following the enactment of the Agrarian Reform Law, which was our people's decision to put an end to hunger, unemployment, and the backwardness of vast rural areas, and to establish the basis for the economic transformation of Cuba through the diversification of agriculture and industrial development¹. The

¹ *The Agrarian Reform Law established by the Revolution, eliminated all large land holdings and, in an orderly way, gave the land to farmers who worked it. Among the great extensions of confiscated land, are the vast territories that belonged to American companies which basically, controlled the agricultural and cattle-raising production and miserably exploited the farmers.*

policy was reflected in threatening notes from the Yankee embassy in Havana and in statements from the White House which, in the name of the supposedly injured oligarchies, insolently demanded "prompt and just payment", disputable indemnification, for goods and interests that legitimately belonged to the people of Cuba.

POSITIONS ARE DEFINED

As a result of this, positions became defined: on one side, the interests of the imperialist monopolies represented first by the Eisenhower Administration and later by the Kennedy Administration, and on the other side, the just aspiration for liberty of a people who have been exploited and betrayed for centuries. As a consequence of this and in the face of the determination of Cuba, its people, and its Revolutionary Government, the imperialist and monopolist Government of the United States adopted a shameful plan for intervention in Cuba and placed the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department in charge.

The first step in this plan was the attempt to strangle Cuba economically, leaving her without fuel for the services so vital to her people. The large international oil corporations played a very important role in this step. Later, following the path of economic aggression, the imperialist Government of the United States, shamelessly forgetting all principles of international conduct, decided to cut off our sugar quota completely from its national market, ignoring the historic rights of the Cuban people who had sacrificed their national interests during two world wars for the benefit of the people of the United States.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF CUBA

With the evident purpose of isolating Cuba from the peoples of Latin America and tightening the economic blockade around it, the imperialist oligarchy organized a meeting of Latin American Foreign Ministers in San José, Costa Rica. In the meantime, unilaterally, by-passing international organizations, they imposed embargoes on import and export trade with Cuba, making it impossible

for us to acquire dollars with which to buy from them food products and medicines so necessary for the people. In spite of this, with incredible cynicism, they officially declared that such products would be excluded from the embargo for the benefit of the Cuban people.

At the same time that this treacherous plan for economic aggression was being perpetrated, the Central Intelligence Agency and other organizations set up by the U.S. Government for espionage and subversion, sent counterrevolutionary agents to Cuba to commit acts of sabotage in factories and other work centers.

Throughout the second half of 1959 and most of 1960, many pirate planes taking off from U.S. airfields violated our national territory. They dropped incendiary bombs on cane fields and explosive bombs on sugar mills, they bombed the town of Cojimar, and they strafed and bombed the city of Havana, while the international ASTA (American Society of Travel Agents) convention was going on there as part of Cuba's efforts to increase the tourist trade.

Three small planes with U.S. registration and flown by U.S. pilots were shot down on different occasions. Others acts of terrorism and sabotage were carried out in our country by agents of the Central Intelligence Agency who planted bombs in work centers and factories. In the same way, they perpetrated the criminal sabotage of the French ship, *La Coubre*, in Havana harbor, causing the death of dozens of Cuban and French workers as well as extensive material damage. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba constantly denounced these acts before international organizations and the peoples of the world. In every case it exposed the hand of the imperialist Government of the United States, which directed and financed them. Notwithstanding this, the U. S. Government hypocritically denied knowing of these aggressions or having anything to do with them. In addition, the U.S. government justified the adoption of economic reprisals, using the false defense that they were in the best economic interests of the American people. A columnist for the New York Post wrote on this subject, and what he said were not idle words. He wrote: "Toward the end of 1959, the

Eisenhower Administration decided to give Cuba the "Guatemala treatment" that is, the National Security Council authorized Dulles, director of the CIA, to organize Cuban expatriates, to prepare a military force, and to plan the invasion of Cuba". During his presidential campaign, which took place at the same time, the present president of the United States, Kennedy, called Cuba a "New Satellite" and publicly stated that "the anti-Castro forces in exile represent the eventual hope for the overthrow of Castro". (Re-translated from Spanish).

While first the Eisenhower administration and later the Kennedy administration and their respective Secretaries of State denied Cuba's accusation publicly and before international organizations the Central Intelligence Agency, following their instructions, pursued their plans for aggression, sabotage, subversion, and terrorism. While Cuba was accusing the Government of the United States before the U. N. Security Council and ratifying her stand, making it plain that she was open to free discussion of the existing differences and to resolving them peacefully under the conditions of equal treatment and absolute respect for the sovereignty and self-determination of the Cuban people, the Yankee CIA was taking its first steps, at the beginning of 1960, to prepare armed intervention in our country.

YDIGORAS' COMPLICITY

Thus, in the first months of 1960, scarcely one year after the triumph of the Revolution, the CIA recruited a group of ex-soldiers from the Batista army and on March 18, 1960, placed them in a training camp located on Usepan Island, off Fort Myers, Florida, U. S. where a permanent recruiting and training center began to function. Various groups were recruited and trained through this center, groups that were later sent, with the consent of the servile Guatemalan Government and its president Ydígoras Fuentes, to the El Helvetia farm in Guatemala. From there a number were stationed in camps which the Central Intelligence Agency had prepared in Guatemala, known as **Trax Base** and **Reu Base**, located in Retalhuleu; others

were sent to the mountains of Panamá to practice guerrilla warfare; others were sent to Vieques Island, a U.S. military base in Puerto Rico; and a selected group of 60 men were sent to a military camp in the state of Louisiana in United States territory, where they took a training course in infiltration, subversion, and sabotage, where they were taught the use of high explosives, special communications equipment, and other methods of sabotage and espionage. By the months of October and November, 1960, there were around 400 mercenaries in the **Trax** and **Reu** bases, and the number was gradually increased with new mercenaries recruited in the United States, México, Panamá, Guatemala, and Venezuela through liaisons of the Central Intelligence Agency. They were paid monthly salaries of \$225 plus \$50 for the first child and \$25 for each additional child. This amount was paid to their families while the recruits were stationed at the training bases. In November, 1960, new instructors, advisors, and technicians from the U.S. Army arrived at the Guatemalan bases to speed up the training. At the bases they were known by the names of **Frank**, **Gordon**, **Pat**, **Troper**, **Walter**, **Phil**, etc.; there were about 21 of them.

As bases for training and operations, the mercenary air force used the official base of the Guatemalan Air Force al Retalhuleu, the Oppalocka Airport in Miami, Florida, where they had 6 C-45's, and the airport in Puerto Barrios, Nicaragua.

The mercenary navy had its initial base on Vieques Island, Puerto Rico; just before carrying out the aggression the ships were gradually moved to Puerto Barrios, Nicaragua, from which the invasion force departed after being given a farewell by President Somoza of Nicaragua.

PLAN FOR PREVIOUS AGGRESSIONS

The secret plan for the invasion of our country, called "Operation Pluto" by the Central Intelligence Agency, carried with it a plan of preliminary aggressions which the imperialist forces carried out and which our Prime Minister, Major Fidel Castro, called "Operation Prelude."

From the middle of 1960, while the training of mercenary troops intensified at the bases in Guatemala, Panamá, and Puerto Rico, and in Florida and Louisiana within the territory of the United States of America, the Central Intelligence Agency forced the unification of the counter-revolutionary groups maintained abroad by imperialism, making up a so-called "Democratic Revolutionary Front." The CIA selected a group of traitors and turncoats and with them, formed a provisional government-in-exile headed primarily by the traitors Miró Cardona, Tony Varona, and Manuel Ray. This government received immediate public recognition by the U.S. Government. In the months before the invasion the imperialist Yankee press carried various interviews between representatives of the so-called government-in-exile and President Kennedy himself, his Secretary of State, and the puppet presidents of Guatemala, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and the colony of Puerto Rico.

While this was going on, also in the second half of 1960, agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, spies, provocateurs, terrorists, etc., were smuggled into Cuba through the naval base at Caimanera, brought by submarines into Cuban territorial waters, or dropped from planes. Their mission was to carry out an enormous plan for sabotage and internal subversion, including the destruction of warehouses and large stores, sugar mills, transportation lines, etc., to organize a guerrilla front in the Sierra Maestra, the Escambray, and the Cordillera de los Organos¹, and to obtain information about Cuban military defenses. This plan for espionage and subversion also failed because of the people's permanent and effective vigilance through the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the organized vigilance of the workers and farmers in their centers of production and distribution, although in certain cases CIA agents accomplished the criminal destruction of important centers, such

¹ The Sierra Maestra extends along the southern coast of Oriente Province. The Sierra del Escambray is formed by a series of mountains in the southern part of Las Villas. The Cordillera de los Organos is a mass of mountains in the westernmost province, Pinar del Rio.

as the stores **La Epoca** and **El Encanto**, the sugar storehouses at the Hershey Sugar Mill, and the chickens, eggs, and grain of some state farms and co-operatives. Meanwhile, the combined action of the National Revolutionary Militia, the Rebel Army, and the National Revolutionary Police quickly and effectively wiped out any attempts to organize uprisings. They defeated CIA attempts in Oriente and Pinar del Río and succeeded in capturing the groups of bandits which imperialism had placed in the Escambray Mountain range, where the Revolutionary Armed Forces in every case picked up enormous caches of weapons of all types (guns, mortars, bazookas, rifles, and supplies made in the U.S.A.) that the planes of the U.S. Air Force had dropped in that area on numerous occasions, arms which the Revolutionary Government displayed before the world as proof of the despicable Yankee aggression.

OPERATION PRELUDE

On the days immediately preceding the date scheduled for the armed invasion, the last steps of "Operation Prelude" were carried out in an attempt to distract the vigilance of our armed forces. U. S. planes made numerous violations of our territory, both for reconnaissance purposes and to divert the attention of our forces; U. S. Navy ships and submarines carried out unbelievable provocations, openly concentrating within our territorial waters.

Finally, on Saturday morning, April 15, 1961, at 6:00, groups of planes carried out a treacherous air attack over the Cuban cities of Santiago de Cuba, San Antonio de los Baños, Cienfuegos, and Havana, causing numerous fatalities and injuries among both combatants and civilians as well as material damages to public installations and private homes. The enemy was forced to retreat in the face of the fire of our anti-aircraft batteries, which shot down several planes of the attacking air force and damaged others.

The responsibility for these events, as has been proved, falls directly on the Government of the United States of America, its president, John F. Kennedy, and the Secretary

of State of that country, who gave the orders and resources to the Central Intelligence Agency. They had full knowledge of the plans: they authorized them, they consented to them, and they supervised the carrying out of these plans for intervention and armed aggression against a small and peaceful country. They had as their accomplices for carrying out this plan, the heads of government of Latin American countries who have sold out to imperialism. They are as follows: Manuel Ydígoras Fuentes of Guatemala, Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua, Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela, Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico, and Roberto Chiari of Panamá. These heads of government knew of the plans and helped to carry them out by supplying equipment, training bases, ports and airfields for the attack.

Cuba accused the Government of the United States before the U.N. of bearing the responsibility for the attack, and the strength of the denunciation and clear proof which was presented forced President Kennedy himself a few days later to assume publicly **"sole responsibility for the events occurring in recent days in Cuba"**. (Re-translated from Spanish). He thereby exposed the hypocritical attitude of the U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Adlai Stevenson, who, in response to the Cuban accusation, had denied before the body that his government had participated in the attack against our country. He also exposed to the eyes of the world the war-like interventionist and imperialist policy of the monopoly-controlled United States Government, a policy not only being maintained but constantly worsening. This was made evident by the negotiations of the U.S. Government during the Punta del Este Conference,¹ in the official announcement of the total economic blockade against our country, to which it now wishes to add members of military blocs such as NATO and SEATO, and in the development of new plans of aggression and armed intervention against our country which are already in the process of being carried out.

After the identification of the captured mercenaries, the composition of mercenary Brigade 2506 was reconstructed. It was formed in the following way: GENERAL

STAFF OF THE MERCENARY BRIGADE: Chief of Staff: JOSE ALFREDO PEREZ SAN ROMAN, ex-officer with the rank of Captain from 1949 to 1959, 30 years of age, married Cuban. Chief of Civilian Administration: MANUEL ARTIME, 29 years of age, physician, Cuban, single, ex-employee of INRA, traitor, a deserter from the Rebel Army who betrayed the Cuban Revolution by going over to the imperialist enemy. He was an active agent at the service of the Central Intelligence Agency, organizing a so-called Revolutionary Front in the United States which served to recruit mercenary forces abroad, thereby becoming one of the most active agents for the interventionist policy of the U.S. State Department. Second-in-command: ERNEIDO ANDRES OLIVA GONZALEZ, 28 years of age, married, Cuban, ex-officer with the rank of 1st Lt. from 1950 to 1960. The Revolution named him an inspector for INRA, but despite that opportunity he betrayed his country and placed himself at the service of the Pentagon and the U.S. State Department to prepare and direct the aggression against his country. *(The complete list of the captured mercenaries, defendants at this summary trial, follows).*

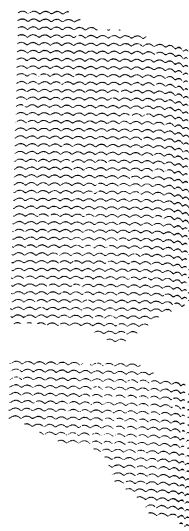
DIAGRAM OF THE MERCENARY INVASION

April 17, 18, 19, 1961

Landing of mercenary troops	1
Reported front	2
Two sunken landing craft	3
Sinking of mercenary communication ship	4
B-26 downed by the Revolutionary Air Force (FAR)	5
5,000 ton ship sunk	6
5,000 ton ship sunk	7
Mercenary paratroopers	8
B-26 downed by anti-aircraft artillery fire	9
Mercenary paratroopers	10
B-26 downed by the Revolutionary Air Force	11
Destruction of 3 mercenary landing craft	12
B-26 downed	13
Three sunken L.S.T	14
A group of mercenaries attacked at this point	15
Supposed front	16
B-26 downed by the Revolutionary Air Force	17
B-26 downed by the Revolutionary Air Force	18
Reported front	19
Two B-26 downed	20
Supposed front	21
Mercenary bombings	22
Airport that mercenaries intended to use. (Bombed by the FAR)	23
Mercenary troops wiped out as they retreated	24
Supposed front	25
Mercenary re-embarcation destroyed	26
In heavy air attack 5,000 lb. bombs dropped by the FAR	27

LOCATIONS:

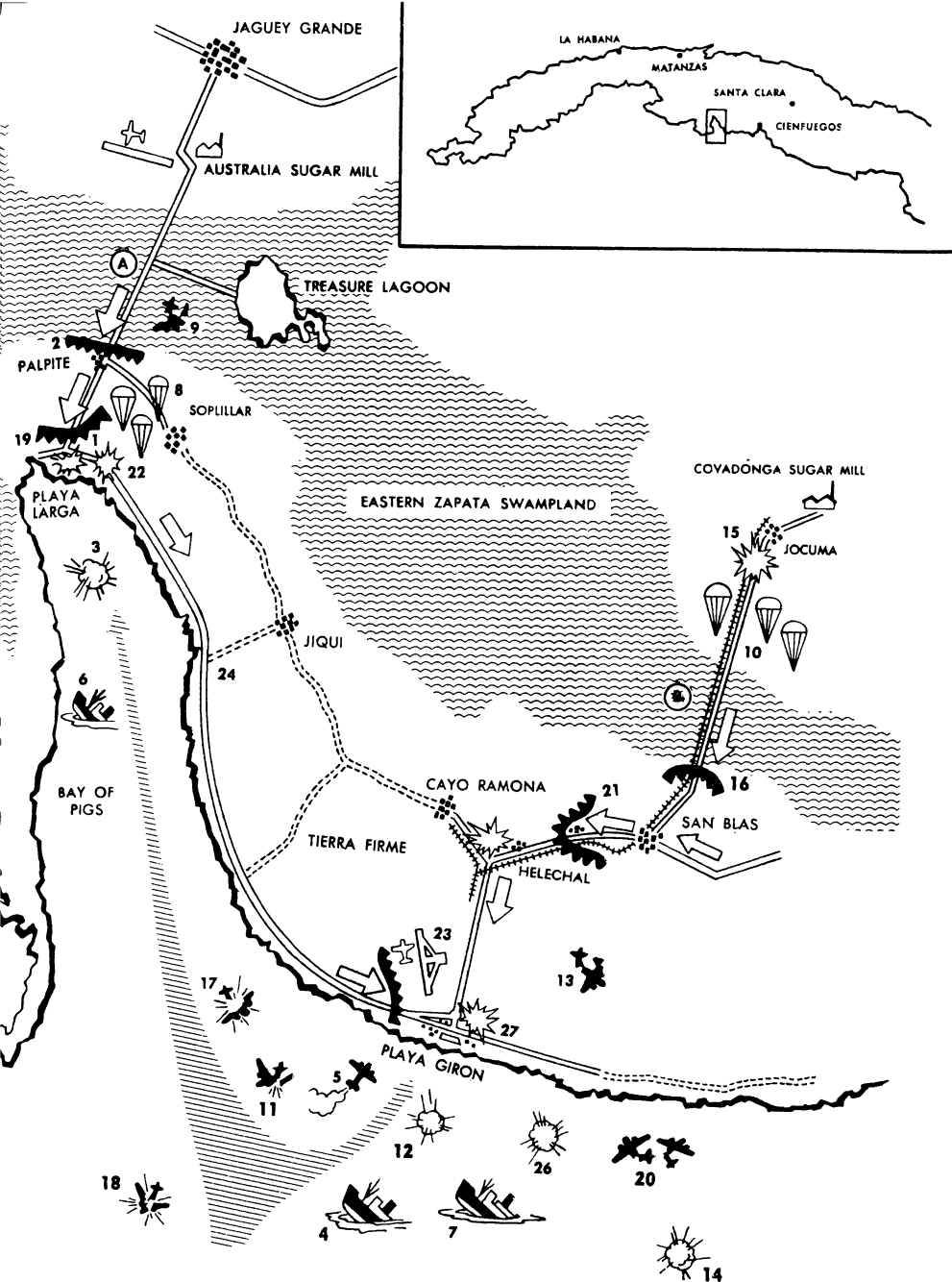
- Unprotected road. Had the invaders blocked it, it would have been very difficult to get the artillery and tanks through.
- A road in the middle of the swamp, another one of the enemy's objectives.



PENINS
ZAPAT



CARIBBEAN SE



**The mercenaries
confess their
crime-treason
to their country**

*Their statements
expose
participation of
Yankee imperialists*

In the course of the summary trial the testimony of the accused mercenaries was heard, some of which had been made public over national radio and T. V. hook-ups in the days following the defeat of the invasion or written by the accused during those days. In all their testimonies, they unanimously confess the direct participation of the Yankee imperialist in the preparation, organization, and financing of the invasion, which was crushed in less than 72 hours by the people of Cuba, and they plainly show the mercenary character of the invasion which tried to destroy the power of the Cuban workers and their Socialist Revolution.

These testimonies which indeniably indict imperialism and which come from the leaders of the invasion themselves as well as from certain other mercenaries, appear verbatim on the following pages.

Statement of the Mercenary

JOSE ALFREDO PEREZ SAN ROMAN

*Ex-Captain in the army of the tyranny,
leader of the mercenary invaders, and
chief of the so-called "Brigade 2506"*

*Letter from San Román sent to the Leader of
the Revolution, Major Fidel Castro, requesting
that the attached statement be made public.*

Sports City
Havana
May 11, 1961

Re: Publication of Testimony

To: Major Fidel Castro Ruz

Office of the Prime Minister

Havana

Dear Sir:

1. If it is not considered prejudicial to the triumph of Socialist Cuba, I request you to order the proper authority to make public the attached document in order that it may be read by the greatest possible number of members of the R.D.F. (Revolutionary Democratic Front) who may be within the national territory or abroad.

2. Thanking you in advance for whatever interest you may take in this matter.

Yours respectfully,

J. A. Pérez San Román
Ex-Captain in the Army. Chief
of Staff of Brigade 2506

Ciudad Deportiva,
La Habana,
Mayo 11 - 1961.

Asunto: Publicación de Declaraciones.

Al : Comdte. Fidel Castro Ruz,
Oficina del Primer Comandante,
La Habana.

Sr. :

1. Puzgo a Ud., si no considera por judicial al tiempo de la Cuba Socialista, ordene que, por quien corresponda, se dé la debida publicación al escrito adjunto, a fin de hacerlo llegar a conocimiento del mayor número posible de compañeros del P. R. C. que pudiesen encontrarse en el territorio Nacional o en el extranjero.

2. Agradezco por adelantado el interés que pudiese tomar en este asunto.

De Ud. respetuosamente,

Ense
J. A. Pérez Enríquez,
Ex-Capitán Eje. Terc. Dr. de la Brigada 2506



La Habana, Mayo 10-96

Un Deber De Conciencia

Muchos dirán al leer mis declaraciones: "¡Bah!, el hombre, ante el fracaso, aplica la marcha atrás e vende lo poco que le quedaba de dignidad a cambio de su vida."

No me interesa. ¿Quié me puede importar la opinión pública? ¿Quié lo puede importar la opinión pública a quien está señalado y odiado por casi seis millones de habitantes?

Sólo la opinión privada de mis hijos y mis hijos, me puede ya importar. De mi madre y mi padre, mi hermano y de mis familiares allegados. La opinión de alguien que otro amigo o amigo íntimo, de los de verdad. Todos ellos saben que lo que aquí digo, lo digo porque lo siento. Ellos, qui me conocen, saben que soy sincero.

Quizás me incuseto al decir que sólo la opinión de ellos me interesa. Me interesa también la opinión de los compañeros de lucha que aún gozan de libertad, sobre todo, la de aquellos cuya acción, puedan de alguna uelha, en el futuro de la Patria.

En cuanto a mi persona y futuro, sólo me puede importar ya mi propia conciencia.

Havana, May 10th, 1961

A DUTY OF CONSCIENCE

Upon reading my statement many people will say, "Bah!" After the man failed, he shifts into reverse and sells out the little dignity left to him in exchange for his life."

I don't care. What can public opinion matter to me? What can public opinion matter to someone who is pointed out and hated by almost 6 million people?

Only the private opinion of my wife and children is still important to me. The opinion of my mother and father, my sister, and other close relatives, the opinion of a few close friends, my true friends. They all know that what I say here is heartfelt. They who know me, know that I am sincere.

Perhaps it is not entirely true that I am only interested in their opinion. I am also interested in the opinion of my fellow counterrevolutionaries who are still free, especially the opinion of those whose actions can leave a mark on the future of our country.

As far as I'm concerned only my own conscience is important to me. Starting from there, and with no doubt in my mind, no other commentary, opinion, or accusation is of interest to me. Help yourself! The table is set! I am fulfilling a duty to my conscience by speaking the truth that I feel in my heart and which the propaganda of those who brought me to this point will say is not only heartfelt, but is actually a lie invented by a mind under the pressure of fear or even dictated by "brainwashers" and "tonics" of that type. I am even less interested in the dishonest propaganda that serves petty interests. So on with my message!

To those companions in the R.D.F.¹ who are inspired by good intentions:

¹ The so-called "Frente Revolucionario Democrático" (FRD), that includes a certain number of Cuban counterrevolutionaries in United States territory, is one of the many organizations promoted and financed by American imperialists. The CIA, as it was revealed at the time of the attack on Playa Girón and proven through the accounts made by the mercenary leaders, controls and commands all of the activity of those groups, inside and outside of Cuba.

My words can only have a good effect on you. It may be that you know me, it may be that you do not. Those who really know me, know that I have never gone on my knees before a triumphant enemy, and that I am still less capable of selling my dignity and my integrity even in exchange for my life. Whether you believe that or not is up to you. Nevertheless, analyze what I am going to say here:

What were the reasons that inspired us to begin this struggle to fulfill what we believed was a duty? The answer, although it is very broad, can be summarized as follows:

- A.—The conviction that our country is suffering under the outrages of an illegal, oppressive, and brutal government which has robbed the rich, destroyed the middle class, and deceived, subjugated and exploited the poor.
- B.—That that government is not a government, but rather the puppet of a foreign power with evil ambitions that has turned Cuba into a jumping-off place from which to ram home a political and military attack against the "free worl", the "peaceful worl", headed by the United States of America.
- C.—That thousands of friends, relatives, and our countrymen in general, the majority of them innocent, have been imprisoned as a result of the first phase of the Revolutionary Government, which came down from the mountains full of hatred and anxious for revenge.

Let us analyze section A. In regard to that, I can say today that it is a lie as indicated by the following facts:

- 1.—The enthusiasm shown by the people for the revolutionary laws and the hostile attitude of those same people throughout the length and breadth of the land toward those who attack the system under which they live.
- 2.—A notable decrease in unemployment and a marked improvement in the standard of living of the people in general and especially of the peasants.
- 3.—Extraordinary progress in the industrialization of the country which up to now was only a private farm from which the clever, extracted raw materials for use in manufacturing abroad.

4.—Eradication of slums such as “Las Yaguas” and their conversion into residential areas of families living in modern buildings, with all the comforts necessary to live like human beings —Cubans, just like you and I.— who had always lived like animals.

5.—Even more surprising progress in the eradication of illiteracy, not as the propaganda says on the basis of indoctrination and sending the children to Russia, but on the basis of education in the countryside through the effort and sacrifice of hundreds, thousands, of Cuban teachers under the guidance of their leaders. (That propaganda is the same propaganda that said that government planes, planes of the Revolutionary Air Force, bombed their own runways, when we all knew that they were ours. That same dishonest propaganda, totally lacking in scruples, is the same propaganda that screamed that our forces were advancing on Havana, when in reality we were retreating. We were fleeing! Yes, sick to the stomach of life and men. Where was the good? Yes, we fought against evil, and then we understood we also brought evil. Where was the good? It could not have been on the side of those who spread such base propaganda, but it wasn't for that reason that we retreated. These are considerations that occurred to us when our mind and muscles were not completely occupied and conscience, principles, morality and the goodness that some still have, came to the foreground. At the time that Radio Swan¹, “the guide and beacon of Cuba liberty” was broadcasting, our minds and muscles were working at full capacity; then we retreated. We became disheartened, we fled, if you prefer that word. And indeed we had to retreat, because there were only 1400 of us imbeciles fighting while many others, many sharp operators, were patiently waiting for us to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. While they were waiting they were repeating lies and stupidities over Radio Swan or playing canasta on Miami Beach or chatting in bars with their girl friends. They even went so far as to send me, as chief of the forces on

¹ Radio Swan, a long and short wave station operated under the cover name of “Gibraltar Steamship Co.”, is controlled by the CIA to transmit throughout Cuban territory all kinds of provocations and lies against the Cuban Revolution. It is located on Swan Island, a territory in Honduras engaged by the United States for this kind of activity.

the verge of defeat, congratulatory messages from the supply base for the successes we had obtained as well as our coming successes —and this, after receiving my messages concerning our desperate situation. Did they expect to deceive us by lifting our arms in victory when we were knocked out on the canvas, we who were doing the fighting in the ring? How far did they expect to go with their propaganda?

But let us continue:

6.—Respect for human rights even to the point of treating a captured enemy invader like any other Cuban, giving him all his rights and the maximum respect for his human dignity.

7.—Existence of a large Revolutionary Army made up of Cubans, not Europeans or Asians, who possess a high morale, discipline, and fighting spirit. If you have been a soldier or raised around soldiers you will know that this indicates that the men are proud of belonging to their organization and that they love it. This can only happen when organizations are good and correspond to the ideals of those who belong to them.

8.—The existence of hundreds of thousands of militiamen, also with a high morale, discipline, and fighting spirit. These militiamen are students, farmers, teachers, workers, and women, who do not complain when the needs of their nation call them from their comfortable daily life to the privation and sacrifice of life in the trenches, for weeks at a time.

The people armed. This is what the militia means.

9.—The existence of a repressive body (G-2) whose members are amazing for their correct treatment and good manners towards the prisoners, whoever they may be (and the army and the militia behave in the same way). This is true even of individuals of the most humble origin, of the most rudimentary education, the complete opposite of the mistreatment, torture, and crime represented in the propaganda.

Let us go on to analyze Section B. "Cuba does not govern herself". Nothing could be further from the truth.

Our beloved country, Cuba, is governed by Cubans. In Cuba what the Cubans say is what is done, and thanks to this, that Cuba, whose happiness is so important to us, is in the vanguard of Latin America, creating for itself, by sheer courage, a dignity never before seen, a dignity that had been trampled on so often in the past.

This attitude of dignity and autonomy upheld by our small, but great country, is what troubles and injures the interests of the large trusts that have been exploiting the twenty Latin American countries for so many years. Try to read history, the true history, and not the history of the colonialist or imperialist propagandists. You'll see that you won't be able to find it, because they don't want us to know what is in it. This history doesn't reach you because the "Gold Curtain" (that is, the "Dollar Curtain") is set up to prevent it. They label it "communism," and even if you had access to it, you wouldn't read it. It's taboo. We're even afraid to touch it.

In regard to a military base to be established here, as someone rightly stated a few days ago, in this age of rockets Russia does not need Cuba as a military base against the United States.

In regard to a base for political aggression, I don't know. It could be. But if the system of the United States is the best for the world (that is, for the great majority), and this is what they loudly claim, why should they be worried? What importance could such an attempt have? Why not let that system come out in the light of day to compete face to face under equal conditions, not with weapons, but with arguments? If their system is better there is no doubt that the "western peace-lovers" will win.

Is it not possible that their system is better, but only for a minority who subjugate and exploit? Is it not possible that they fear that the other part, the great exploited majority, will open their eyes and realize that they have been asleep, serving a system that is magnificent for a handful of vampires, but brutal for the exploited masses whose personal dignity has been trampled on?

Let's move on, soldier of the R.D.F., to section C. This section, which refers to the prisoners in the first phase

of the Revolutionary Government, is perhaps our only effective reason, our only point of support.

Let us assume that the present government has been unjust with prisoners from the beginning of 1959, as you and I are convinced it has been. As to the imprisonment of those after 1959, I do not know the reasons in the majority of cases, as I was not in Cuba and I got all my information through the propaganda whose principles and morals I have already explained to you. The reason for the most recent imprisonment, the imprisonment of those of us who invaded Playa Girón, is indisputable.

Do you think that this reason, the only reason that can stand up under an analysis of the truth, is sufficient to drench the country in blood? Is it worth freeing the hundreds or perhaps thousands of our countrymen (I lack concrete figures), even if they are all, without exception, our own brothers, the children of our own mother, at a price of thousands upon thousands of deaths (of those who are also our countrymen) which, as recent events have shown, an ill-fated military action would cost this land, unless it counted on the support of a not exactly well-intentioned foreign power, as I found out too late.

Is it worth handing over 6 million Cubans (or the half that would survive), your palms, your huts, your sugar, your land—which is the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever beheld—your dignity and self-respect, to a foreign country that only cherishes its own interests, in order to get 5,000 fellow countrymen, no matter how much they mean to us, out of prison, when the other reasons that inspired us were false and when there was so much bad faith in the methods?

I am sure your answer will be the same as mine: No! It is absurd, illogical, unjust, irrational, and inhuman.

In regard to the “good intentions and disinterested aid,” I can give you an example of this that is as clear as the sun:

Did you know that our sources of information, and you can imagine who these sources of information were, had assured us that the “technicians” and “officers” of the foreign power that “is directing Cuba” were quickly abandoning the country in the face of the weakening of

the government, which was threatening to fall any minute since it no longer had either popular or military support? Did these same sources of information not know that the immense majority of the people supported the government, or that the Militia and the Revolutionary Army had a high morale and an extremely high combat strength, or that the government had an Air Force superior to ours (not in the number of planes, but in equipment), didn't they know that that government had powerful tank units? How naive!

These informative agencies (in good faith?) told us just the opposite as "military intelligence, collected, evaluated, elaborated, and interpreted" before being "disseminated" to us.

The slaughter, the deaths, the widows, the orphans, the material damages were not important to them (I imagine they were thinking, "Umm, perhaps we'll lose a little equipment, but we have so much!"). What was important to them was to paint the proper picture for US, "the patriots who were going to liberate their country," so we would land confident of victory. And what a pretty pretext! THE BLOODBATH DEMANDS INTERVENTION BY THE "SAVIORS OF THE WORLD." This made nice headlines for the papers.

How naive, how stupid those of us who came to liberate Cuba have been! If you will permit me the expression, we have won the booby prize. We went for it hook, line, and sinker, we didn't even deserve the air we breathed abroad, how are we going to deserve it in Cuba?

Going back to the "saviors of the world," it seems that something went wrong in their calculations and everything was over faster than they expected. For that reason the maneuvers of "recognition of the government" and the "peaceful, redeeming intervention" that I imagined would follow, fortunately did not take place. The Shark¹ had no opportunity to use his toothpick after the banquet. There

¹ *Tiburón (Shark)* is the name given to American imperialism in the "The Fable of the Shark and the Sardines", book dealing with the relations between the United States and Latin American countries.

is still a God in Heaven, although we imbeciles cannot enjoy Him. Why don't you enjoy Him, while there is still time?

I am sure that from the time you begin reading my message, one question will come into your mind. You will ask, "If you knew all that, what are you doing where you are now?". No, I didn't know it. I lived in the same environment, in the same unreal world, the world of "prefabricated" dreams that you live in. I felt myself a patriot, just as you do, a hero upon whom my family would look with pride and my fellow citizens with gratitude. In order for my eyes to be opened, in order to learn the truth, I had to sink into disgrace and earn the contempt of all my people and the majority of the Latin Americans; I have had to lose my brother and more than a hundred buddies who thought as you do; it has been necessary for their mothers and wives and the mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts of hundreds of other Cubans who fell under our fire, to wear mourning; this whole panorama of horror, blood, tears, useless sacrifice, and irreparable damage had to fall on my shoulders before I realized the truth, to be disgraced even more, if that is possible, by my ignorance.

Does that not seem a very high price to pay for knowledge that is within the reach of any of us, if we would only shake off vain prejudices, personal rancor, foolish fears, and the influence of the propaganda which serves interests that are not of your country?

To give you this knowledge at a much lower price than it has cost me, is the duty of conscience that I wish to fulfill, even at the expense of what many may think of my manhood, my dignity, and my integrity. Accept this knowledge, the lack of which has caused me so much harm and has won me so much deserved hatred. Avoid causing similar damage through lack of knowledge, damage which could be much less, or much worse.

That is the duty of conscience that inspires my message. It is impossible to call it a patriotic duty; who is going to believe in my patriotism now? Cubans and foreigners on the other side will call me "Russian," "Communist." Cubans and foreigners who defend the cause on this side

will call me a "mercenary," a "turncoat." What difference will it make? What more can I lose? But how much my spirit will gain by complying with the dictates of my conscience!

If you believe me, it will be for your own good, for the good of your family and your country. If I, as an individual, as a human being, as José A. Pérez San Román, am released from the civic and social aspirations that I might hold for my people, if I am cut adrift from the love of my fellow human beings, it can make no difference whether you believe me or not. I am so deeply sunk in the mire that there is no human force capable of lifting me out.

If you do not believe me, what else can I do? I can only ask that you do not get the means to continue your fight, and may God's will be done!

José A. Pérez San Román

*File No. 2538 of the Armed
Forces of the R.D.F. Chief of
the Conventional Land Forces
of said organization.*

Testimony of mercenary

MANUEL ARTIME BUESA

Traitor to the Rebel Army, embezzler, counter-revolutionary leader and the so-called "Chief of Civilian Administration" of the mercenary brigade. He was one of the members of the so-called "Revolutionary Council", which is formed by different counterrevolutionary organizations in the United States that openly advocate Yankee intervention in their country. In his lengthy testimony, Artime details many of the counterrevolutionary activities promoted and sponsored by the Yankee imperialists which led to the crushed invasion.

I left Manzanillo on my way to Havana with the money supplied by Julio Bordas, ex-president of the Rice Growers Association. It was some \$500.

Upon my arrival in Havana I went to a hotel. I can't remember the name of it, but it was a small hotel at the corner of 25th and O Streets. I registered under a false name and contacted Angel Ross Escala (Guillín), who got me in touch with Jorge Sotus, whom I met with, and set up an organization which we agreed to name "Movimiento de Recuperación Revolucionaria" (Movement for Revolutionary Recuperation). That meeting was attended by Jorge Sotus, Angel Ross Escala, Rafael Rivas Vázquez, Carlos Rodríguez Santana, and Carlos Hernández.

The plan we drafted was a double uprising in Oriente. He would start the uprising near Santiago de Cuba and I would start it near Manzanillo. I had to go abroad to obtain arms and funds.

Jorge Sotus informed me he was in contact with Ricardo Lorié and Díaz Lanz and a young army man named Pepín López. Jorge didn't tell me much because we had

known each other for a short time only. But Angel Ross Escala told me that he had contacts with an American who corresponded with Lorié and who could help me get out of the country.

Next evening he introduced me to a short American who spoke Spanish and who asked me to call him **Williams**¹.

That same evening I was taken to an apartment house located near the mouth of the Almendares River where I waited for the contact to leave Cuba.

Finally one evening he took me to the docks where he handed me over to a ship captain and told him (the captain) that I was the man he had talked to him about. The captain did not know my name. He took me with him to the ship, passing me off as a seaman.

Once on board, he put me in one of the ship's holds and told me he would bring me water and food until I was able to come out.

Three days later, I went to the pilot and told him I was a stowaway.

We arrived in Tampa where I went to the immigration authorities and declared myself a political exile.

In this city I contacted a grey-haired American who told me his name was **Mr. Bender**¹. With this man I traveled to the outskirts of Miami where I contacted Ricardo Lorié who informed me about his disagreement with Díaz Lanz. I told him I was leaving for Mexico because in that country I had three possibilities for publishing my book and collecting some money. He promised me that he would go to Mexico later on to arrange final details.

The so-called **Mr. Bender** accompanied me to New Orleans where I obtained a visa for Mexico. He told me that upon my arrival at the Mexican airport, I should stand outside the next to the last door on the right, holding my hat with my left hand at waist height, and wait until a man approached me and asked if I were Ignacio, to which I should answer "yes", and ask him afterwards, if he were **Roberto**¹. This **Roberto** was going to be my contact in Mexico.

¹ *Williams, Bender and Roberto: False names used by CIA agents in their relations with the counterrevolutionaries.*

I went to Mexico and made the contact just as I had been told.

He informed me that all of them were members of an organization of American industrialists who were fighting communism in Latin America.

While in Mexico I found out that Mr. Jose Ignacio Montaner, one of the owners of the **Información** newspaper whom I knew, was in Mexico.

I visited José Ignacio Montaner and he promised me economic support for publishing my book and suggested that I should travel all through Latin America speaking about the Cuban problem. He said that between himself and some other friends, they could pay for the trip.

I spoke to the so-called **Roberto** at the Mexico City railroad station and asked him for weapons to be sent to Cuba. He said that as yet he could not give me a concrete answer.

Then I decided to publish the book and to take the trip through Latin America. **Roberto** informed me that upon my return from the trip he would get in touch with me.

I went to Costa Rica where I made some public statements. There I talked to Luis Alberto Monge and Don José Figueres about the Cuban situation. Both of them agreed with me, but told me that it was premature for the Cuban people to take action at that time, that when the people became aware of the situation, Fidel would fall, that they had great faith in the people of Cuba. They also told me that Fidel was a by-product of the foolish policy of the United States toward the Latin American countries, because so far, the U.S. Government had only supported dictatorial tendencies in America instead of supporting the democratic tendencies, which had to face Latin American communism alone.

I also spoke with Jaime Daremblum, university student from Don Pepe's (Figueres) party, who promised to give me moral support.

I spoke at length with the editor of **Prensa Libre**, who was not and did not become convinced.

Jaime obtained a letter of introduction for me from Alberto Inocente Alvarez addressed to Juan Boch in Ve-

nezuela, whom I was told could put me in contact with officials of the Venezuelan Government.

Luis Alberto Monge gave me another letter for the Foreign Relations Delegate of the Democratic Action Party (Partido de Acción Democrática).

From Costa Rica I went to Panama, where I had no previously arranged contact. There I looked for the address of the Christian Democratic Movement. I met with them once and was given the addresses of several newspapers where I could take my statements. They told me that Fidelism had found a response in Panamá due to the very strong anti-Yankee feelings people had there. They also told me that for the time being they had not organized themselves as a political party but that the movement was growing daily and they would do so very soon.

From Panamá I went to Venezuela.

In Venezuela I contacted a congressman from the Copey Party whose name was Zapata. I had some letters for him from some of his relatives residing in Mexico. I also contacted Juan Boch.

I did not contact the Foreign Relations Delegate of the Democratic Action Party as I was there only three days, I believe. When I went to his office I was informed that he would be out for the whole day.

Juan Boch told me he agreed with my ideas, but he thought the time was not yet ripe to express them because most of the Venezuelan people still believed in the campaign the communists and Jóvito Villalba's party were carrying out in Caracas.

Congressman Zapata brought me to a meeting of the Copey Party youth section. They promised me moral support. One of them told me he had been in Cuba at the triumph of the revolution. I could not meet Caldera because he left for the interior to attend a meeting that day.

Zapata introduced me to newspaperman Salvador Roman who got me contacts with the press and television.

I talked to the editor of one of the Capriles Chain newspapers. I don't remember the name, I only know

that this paper carried out an intensive campaign during Hubert Matos' trial.

I also talked to the editor of a religious newspaper that I think was called "Religion". He was a priest to whom I gave some of my statements.

From Venezuela I left for Lima, Perú.

In Lima, I visited the newspapers and contacted Eudocio Ravines, with whom I had several conversations. He introduced me to a young German who was one the leaders of a pacifist organization known as "Moral Rearmament". They furnished me with a name and address in Chile that I can't recall, as well as another one in Argentina. They were men from "Moral Rearmament" whom they claimed could help us contact the press.

In Perú I talked with the editorial manager of a newspaper which I was told belonged to APRA, and he told me there were problems in one of the party's sections precisely due to the Cuban issue.

From Perú I went to Santiago de Chile, where I contacted the press.

Through one of the newspapers that I think was called "Ilustrado", I contacted a youth leader of the Conservative Party who introduced me to a group of young party leaders. One of them took me to see one of his friends who was a leader of the Christian Democratic Party. He took me to meet several Christian Democratic leaders. There I found that the party was divided on the Cuban question. While Frei Montalva, the party's top leader was against Fidel's Government, one Gory or Gorgi, or something like that, who was a member of Congress, opposed Frei on the matter.

Representatives of the Conservative Party, who were in power, were all opposed to Cuba's system of government.

In Chile I was introduced to a couple of Brazilian political leaders whose I don't remember. They were from Sao Paulo and gave me addresses in that city, which I couldn't visit, since I didn't go to Sao Paulo.

From Chile I went to Argentina.

In Argentina I visited the newspapers, but I didn't have much time.

I tried to get in touch with a leader of the Christian Democratic Party, but the address I had been given in Chile was not correct and I couldn't locate him.

From Argentina I went to Río de Janeiro, Brazil.

In Río de Janeiro I visited the chairman of the Brazilian Press Society to request that he call a press conference. The chairman was a paralytic who treated me very politely, but he told me that in order to call a press conference he needed at least three days. As I was going to be there for a shorter time, it didn't workout. He gave me a letter of introduction to some newspapers which I visited.

From Brazil I went back to Mexico.

In Mexico I contacted the **Editorial Jus** (printing house) to inquire about how my book was coming along. I left this matter in the hands of a doctor who was introduced to me and whose name was Dr. Quiroga. He lived across from the Monument to the Discovery of America and he had been president of the Mexican Parents Association.

I also talked to members of the National Action Party (PAN), which is the Christian Democratic Party of Mexico. They offered me moral support. I also had conversations with Dr. Guisa, who belongs to a Catholic movement called **Sinarquista**.

Mexican Catholic friends took me to a Catholic institution directed by a priest who is dedicated to organizing cooperatives.

The man known as **Roberto** contacted me again and told me that one of the leaders of the organization of American industrialists wanted to talk to me in New York. He gave me a ticket to New York.

I was told that upon my arrival in New York I was to go to a hotel with a name similar to Hudson, register under the name of Ignacio Buesa, and someone would contact me there.

I followed these instructions, and the day after my arrival in the hotel I received a call from an American who wanted to come up to my room and who said he was a friend of **Roberto**.

He introduced himself as **Bender**¹ and told me he was the one appointed by the industrialists' group that Roberto had told me about, to help the Cuban anti-communist cause.

I asked him for the same things I had asked **Roberto**: weapons and a place to train a group. He said he would give me all of that, but I should be patient because it could not be done at the moment.

He asked me if I was willing to join other groups that were not Batista followers and were also against Fidel, because they preferred to help all the groups and not to show preferences for any particular group. I answered yes, although I didn't know any non-Batista groups existing in Cuba then. He explained to me that there was more than one group; that there were important people who were able to organize groups, whom he mentioned.

Dr. José Ignacio Rasco, from the Christian Democratic Movement.

Dr. Justo Carrillo, who was already in exile, and who was the leader of a movement called Montecristi.

Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona, who was still in Cuba, but who was dissatisfied with the government and had great influence among the members of the Auténtico Government.

Dr. Aureliano Sánchez Arango, Secretary General of the Triple A, who was still in Cuba.

At the end of those conversations, Mr. **Bender** told me that there was a friend of mine, also a friend of his, who was interested in greeting me. I told him to ask the fellow in, which he did. The man was Dr. Angel Fernández Varela, editor of the newspaper **Información**.

With Dr. Angel Fernández Varela, we arranged the final details for contracting Tony de Varona, Rasco, and Aureliano in Cuba.

Bender asked where I intended to live. I told him I was planning to go to Miami to continue conversations with Lorié and to learn the latest reports from Cuba through another fellow conspirator named Michael Yabor, who had just arrived from Cuba and who was in contact with Lorié.

¹ This **Bender** is another CIA agent who has the same name as the one mentioned on page 76.

Bender said he would take advantage of this opportunity to put me in contact with Justo Carrillo, who was also in Miami.

I went to Miami.

I talked to Ricardo Lorié and Michael Yabor.

I was told that Nino Díaz had joined us in Oriente and that he had a large following there; that he was asking for weapons for an uprising; that Angel Ross Escala had taken over coordination; that Sotus was military and action coordinator; that Rafael Rivas Vázquez was in charge of propaganda; that Angel Ross Escala was using Carlos Rodríguez Santana to gather people in all provinces; and that Pepita Riera was giving us extraordinary help.

I met Justo Carrillo in Miami. My first impression was very good. He talked about the need to form a political block with everyone who was not a *batistiano* (Batista fall-over) in the fight against Fidel. We agreed on most things.

He told me he had sent messages to Barquín and Felipe Pazos but that he had not received any answer from them as yet, and that Freddy Gaudie was in Europe engaged in the same activities.

He told me that he had talked to Dr. Pedro Martínez Fraga who was also displeased and willing to help in the integration of a political block. He said that Pedro Martínez Fraga was a very close friend of Tony de Varona and could help.

Justo Carrillo also mentioned Vargas Gómez, who was a diplomat and a very close friend of his that could help us with the propaganda, and that he had sent a message to this fellow telling him that he was waiting for him. Vargas Gómez said he would come. We agreed to keep in contact.

He told me that the Pro-Freedom and Democracy Congress that was going to be held in Caracas would be a very good opportunity to talk to many of these leaders.

He introduced me to Joaquín Sanguinís, who he said planned to talk to the Cuban Military Attache in México, Villafañá. Justo Carrillo knew that Villafañá was not a Communist, as neither was Vargas Gómez. He also explained

that this had to be done very carefully because in Mexico the Cuban Embassy had a very well organized investigative service.

I contacted a North American called **Jim**¹ who informed me that he was **Bender's** contact in Miami. I got in touch with him by calling the Moulin Rouge Motel in Miami Beach.

The fellow called **Jim** explained to me that he was to be in charge of military affairs only but that he would take care of civilian affairs only until a civilian affairs man arrived. The latter was supposed to arrive when the industrialist group they represented began to consider the issues dealing with the war.

Soon after my arrival in Miami, we received the news of Jorge Catus' capture. I was told that a fellow named Pepín López had taken over military activities and that a fellow named Aldereguía had taken over action such as terrorism, arson and sabotage; that Carlos Rodríguez Santana was still working on the national recruiting campaign and that this post had been called Territorial Coordination; that Guillín Ross was still National Coordinator; and that Nino Díaz was desperately asking for arms for an uprising because he was convinced that G-2 was already following him.

I immediately sent this last report to **Jim** who told me stay-put 24 hours where I could be located.

Twenty-four hours later, that is, the next day, I received word from **Jim** that it was impossible to send arms for the time being, but that I should send a message to Nino Díaz asking him to contact Angel Ross, who would get him out of the country.

We gave this information to Nino Díaz' contact, who was a cousin of Ricardo Lorie. The man was a "dealer" at the Havana Hilton Casino I believe, although he had an M. D. degree. The contact returned to Cuba with the messenger.

Soon afterwards we received a message from Angel Ross telling us that not only had Nino Díaz not contacted him, but that he had also disappeared.

¹ "A North-American called **Jim**" is another CIA agent.

Shortly after this, Pepita Riera and a newspaperman called Leyva arrived in Miami, I think the fellow's first name was Pedrín. They both worked with the M. R. R.¹ in Cuba.

Vargas Gómez also arrived, and soon afterwards, Villafaña.

Vargas Gómez, together with Pepita Riera, and Pedrín Leyva, began to broadcast on a shortwave radio station. Programs were recorded in Miami, at a place near Coral Gables, and later on broadcast from New York.

Rasco arrived as an exile afterwards. I talked to him and he agreed with organizing a united bloc. He said he was going to attend the Pro-Freedom and Democracy Congress to be held in Venezuela and that he planned to talk to Tony de Varona and Aureliano there.

Justo Carrillo also left for Venezuela to talk to these persons and to invite them to join the united bloc.

Carrillo told me before leaving that he had received negative answers from Barquin and Felipe Pazos.

The topic of uniting the opposition was already *vox-populi* in Miami.

I was informed from Cuba that Dr. Oscar Salas Marrero had joined the M.R.R. and that he had been assigned to the job of Propaganda Coordinator.

We were also informed that a gentleman who worked in the Propaganda Department of CMQ-TV, had been appointed Treasurer. I can't remember his name.

When the Venezuelan conference was over, Justo Carrillo and Rasco returned to Miami. Tony de Varona came with them.

I talked to Tony and he told me he had intended to go back to Cuba, but that Justo, Rasco, and Martínez Fraga had convinced him to stay in Miami. He told me that nothing had been organized there, but that from Miami he could re-organize things in a month.

¹ MRR: The initials of the so-called "Movement For Revolutionary Recuperation", another one of the many groups of Cuban counter-revolutionaries sponsored by the imperialists and directed by the CIA, inside and outside of the United States.

He said that Aureliano did not want to stay. But that in spite of the fact that Aureliano had told him that he would eventually leave, he had to solve some urgent matters in Cuba and make one last inspection of his organization. Tony told me that he expected Aureliano to leave Cuba immediately and that I should await his arrival to constitute the oppositionist bloc.

Tony told me that he had a trustworthy man in Cuba, the ex-Minister of the Interior, Lomberto, whose family name I can't remember. He also could count on two ex-army men who had been colonels during Prio's¹ government. I don't remember their names either. We talked about Prio and he told me he believed that Prio, who had decided to stay in Cuba, had a liking for Fidel.

Soon after Tony's arrival, Nino Díaz and a man named Yito arrived from Cuba. Nino assured me that he had Oriente Province well organized and that he had about 6,000 men ready to take up arms. Furthermore, he had great influence among coffee growers in the province because he had been a coffee grower himself and know all of them.

He had left Luis Bueno at his place in Oriente.

I found out that Tony and Rasco had contacted the same **Jim** I had contact with.

Jim talked to me and said that the military department was going to start functioning, that I should get him 40 young men to give them an immediate training course, and that "cadres" (sic) would come out of this group. He explained to me that "cadres" really means "instructors".

I sent this message to Rafael Rivas Vázquez in Cuba and he said he would try to send me 40 members of the organization very soon.

In Miami I also talked to a group of young army men who had not committed any crimes during Batista's tyranny to have them go into training. Among them were the San Román brothers.

¹ This is a reference made to the ex-President of the Republic, Carlos Prío Socarrás, (1948-52) during whose government administrative corruption and submission of the national wealth to American monopolies were accentuated. Today, Carlos Prío, enriched by great sums misappropriated from public funds, together with other repulsive criminals and gangsters of the tyranny overthrown January 1, 1959, demands an American intervention in his country.

Soon afterwards the boys from the organization began to arrive from Cuba.

While in Miami, these boys resided at 1410 Brickel Avenue.

At a meeting attended by Tony, Rasco, Justo and myself, we decided to travel to New York, away from the Miami whirlpool, and to put the final touches to the organization of the opposition bloc.

The following went to New York:

Tony de Varona

Justo Carrillo

José Ignacio Rasco

Ricardo Lorié

Andrés Vargas Gómez

Pedro Martínez Fraga.

Our meeting lasted three days, and we reached the following conclusions: To send letters to Cuban figures we believed to be displeased with the socialist regime, and invite them to join us; not to publicize the organization of the bloc until after we had received an answer to each of those letters; and to create an organizing group as herein enclosed:

Manuel Antonio de Varona

Justo Carrillo

José Ignacio Rasco

Manuel Artime

We also decided to wait until Aureliano had left the country —we had sent him a letter asking him to join this bloc; to call the bloc the “Revolutionary Democratic Front”; that the executive committee of the bloc should be composed of one delegate from each organization without any differences in rank between the executive members. The decisions were to be arrived at by a majority vote; to establish as the basis of the Front’s program the Constitution of 1940, which had been the program of the United Liberation Front against Batista. We also agreed that the provisional government should only last 18 months, after which honest elections would be held for the people to elect their government; that the provisional president could not be a candidate in the first elections to be held.

That was the final result of the first meeting of what was later going to be the "Revolutionary Democratic Front"

Among the people to whom letters would be sent were:

Dr. Felipe Pazos, Col. Ramón Barquín, Dr. Miró Cardona, an engineer—Carlos Hevia, ex-Minister Lomberto, Dr. José Alvarez Díaz, Dr. Angel del Cerro, Dr. Antonio Maceo, Dr. Andrés Valdespino, and a larger group whose names I don't remember.

Tony said that he had already contacted his people in Cuba and that he was going to call his group "Rescue". Later on he named it "Revolutionary Democratic Rescue". His man in Cuba at the time was Lomberto and a colonel, whose name I don't remember, who had been in the army under Prío.

We returned to Miami and I found that the first groups had left for the training camps.

I found that Pepín López had arrived in Miami as an exile, just like Carlos Rodríguez Santana. When he was leaving for Miami to meet me, he had been thoroughly searched at the airport. I was the one who advised him not to return.

Pepín López told me that Aldereguía had taken his place on military matters. Ross reported from Cuba that he was taking care of territorial coordination and that he was doing this through Dr. Oscar Salas Marrero, who used "Francisco" as a fictitious name.

This last piece of news made me very happy because I had great confidence in Oscar Salas Marrero.

Carlos Rodríguez Santana and Pepín López joined the groups that were on their way to the training camps.

As a planning committee for the Provisional Government was going to be organized and I had no intellectuals in exile, I sent a message to Rafael Rivas Vázquez to send Manolín Hernández, a member of our organization, to Miami. In Miami we only had Ricardo Lorié's brother, who was a public accountant, and a man whose name I don't remember. He was the president of an insurance company—I think it was owned by Americans—who had

made a reputation for himself as an intelligent man with great talent as a planner and organizer.

All this had to do with my organization.

At the same time, a slim, tall, dark, very young American who called himself **Paul**¹, came to Miami. He was in charge of discussing the type of help that could be given us by the "American businessmen" from a civilian point of view. **Jim** was left to deal with us on military matters only.

Paul spoke perfect Spanish and claimed to be a propaganda expert.

He told us that a private concern was installing a very powerful long wave station on Swan Island, and that once we had our political bloc formed, the group was willing to pay for a daily one-hour broadcast on this powerful radio station, which would reach Cuba over long wave.

Soon after my arrival in Miami, Rafael Rivas Vázquez came from Cuba; his house had been searched and he had to leave. Since Oscar Salas had been appointed to Propaganda, Rafael had taken the job of recruiting members of the organization to be sent for training.

Upon his arrival in Miami we appointed him director of Propaganda, and it was made clear that from that moment on, most of the propaganda was going to be printed abroad and that it would be smuggled into Cuba.

Rafael came with the last groups that arrived from Cuba to go into the training camps.

We began to receive answers to our letters, most of them accepting. The answers from Felipe Pazos and Barquín were negative.

A short while later we received the news of Aureliano's exile. It was agreed that as soon as Aureliano arrived we would publish the formation of the bloc. We also decided on Mexico as the place to organize the bloc, because it was the easiest country to which visas could be obtained at the time, and because Mexico is closely linked to Cuban history. In addition, the Mexican press opposed the Castro regime.

¹ *Paul: Another CIA agent in charge of contacting counterrevolutionaries.*

When Aureliano arrived, we interviewed him in Miami. He agreed to everything we said. He asked us to include him the block and told us to go to Mexico, that he had to go to Germany, to an intellectual's congress to which he had been invited, and that this meeting was very important to him and the cause. He suggested a meeting in New York for the final organization of the leadership of the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

It was decided that the meeting in New York would take place after the one in Mexico.

Rasco and Justo Carrillo were the first ones to go to Mexico, because they wanted to speak individually before making a joint statement.

During those days, Guillín Ross, who had to abandon the Island, came from Cuba. He arrived together with Chi-neá and Rodríguez, another ex-army man who plotted against Batista. Another man came with them. He worked in the shoe industry and belonged to the revolutionary group of university professors who had been thrown down the stairs of the Military Intelligence Service Building¹ and whose name I don't remember now.

Guillín Ross' place in Cuba had been taken over by Dr. Oscar Salas Marrero —“Francisco”— who, from then on, handled the coordination of the M.R.R. in Cuba.

Arriola, administrator of **Prensa Libre**, had also arrived from Cuba. He had been in contact for some time with Pepita Riera, our woman leader, who was already broadcasting over Andrés Vargas' short wave radio station.

Lucas Morán, who worked in Oriente while keeping in contact with Nino Díaz, also arrived from Cuba.

During those days Luis Bueno, ex-coordinator of Oriente, also arrived. He had left a certain Ramón, a friend of Nino Díaz, at his place.

These were the circumstances when the trip to Mexico was made.

¹ SIM: The initials of the Military Intelligence Service, an army organization of the tyranny overthrown on January 1st, 1959. The assignment of this organization was the political persecution of the revolutionary fighters and the carrying out of crimes and tortures.

In Mexico we called a press conference in which the Revolutionary Democratic Front was announced. The executive¹ board was composed of:

Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona	Revolutionary Democratic Movement
Dr. Justo Carrillo	Montecristi
Dr. José Ignacio Rasco	Christian Democratic Movement
Dr. A. Sánchez Arango	Triple A
Manuel Artime	Movement for Revolutionary Recuperation

There, Justo Carrillo introduced me to a diplomat who was a friend of his. I think he was a consul someplace in the U. S. who was going to resign his post to join the Front. He was a very short fellow with a receding hair-line.

José Caragol, who later remained in México as the delegate of the Christian Democratic Front, was also there.

We contacted the Mexican press and asked it to help the Front's delegation that would remain in Mexico.

Caragol stayed on. A certain Rojas, an M. D. and one of Tony's brothers also remained.

Justo was the first one to return to New York. He called from there to tell us that he had been under detention by Immigration authorities and was kept for over eight hours at the New York airport, but that his problem had already been solved.

We left later on, and we met with no inconveniences on entering U. S. territory.

In New York we held a press conference at a hotel whose name I don't remember. Aureliano was already present.

¹ Manuel A. de Varona, Justo Carrillo and A. Sánchez Arango were elements from past politics well remembered by the Cuban people, who noticeably enriched themselves while holding government positions at different times, thus contributing towards the submissive policy of the past political regimes. José Ignacio Rasco and Manuel Artime are two reactionary enemies of the Revolution and of the people; the first, closely tied to the high Falangist clergy, and the second, a traitor of the Revolution and embezzler of public funds set aside for the worker's payroll.

After this press conference, we began to meet in a hotel suite; I think it was the "Commodore".

I don't remember those meetings very well because it was such a long time ago, but among the things I remember are:

The front's executive board would continue without specific ranks.

Decisions would be arrived at by a majority vote.

A civilian would also serve as intermediary between the Executive Board and the Military Department and between the Executive Department and Jim. The man would be Freddy Gaudie.

Names were suggested for discussion and for later proof as to their efficiency and capability for leadership:

Col. Eduardo Martín Elena, Majors Cabañas and Camino, Nino Díaz, Oscar Díaz, Lt. China, and some others whose names I don't remember. Villafañá, Mitchel Yabor, and Cárdenas were mentioned for the Air Force. For the Navy, Renato Díaz Blanco, and the former Naval Attache in Caracas, whose name I don't remember, were mentioned.

Names were suggested for the different commissions; these are more or less the same ones listed in the aforementioned organizational scheme.

It was agreed that the Front's Executive Committee should move to Mexico after the preliminary conference.

It was also agreed that a certain autonomy be granted to the movements inside Cuba, as the organizations in exile would only decide the general policy, but even the organizational scheme could be modified by leaders of the underground if they so desired.

The leaders of the underground would meet to constitute the Front's National Executive Committee in Cuba.

At that time it was going to be composed of: "Francisco", Lomberto, Ross (not the one called Guillín who belonged to the M.R.R., and who was in exile, but the Ross from the Christian Democratic Movement), one of Aureliano's men, whose first name I don't remember, and one from Montecristi, whose name I don't remember either.

Strategy and tactics to be used in Cuba were to be determined by the Executive Committee inside Cuba, as the

national outlook was somewhat different than that seen from exile.

The main propaganda was going to be carried out from abroad, but it would be planned according to the guidance received from Cuba.

After these meetings we went back to Miami. A number of problems arose within my organization which led to the dividing of the exile M.R.R. organization into two groups. Lorié, Michael Yabor, and Nino Díaz were in one of them, and the other one included Pepita Riera, Arriola, Luis Bueno, Manolín Hernández, the boys at the training camps, and myself.

I make a distinction by saying the organization in exile, because the organization in Cuba sided with us, except part of the Oriente group which went over to Nino Díaz. "Francisco" sent a letter from Cuba signed by the National Leadership giving us full support during that crisis. Proof was presented at a general assembly of the M.R.R.-in-exile, and the assembly voted unanimously in our favor. Both decisions were submitted to the Executive of the Revolutionary Democratic Front, which recognized us as the one and only M.R.R. The other faction desintegrated little by little until only Nino Díaz and his group in Oriente were left.

Coinciding with these events, Jim had asked Gaudie to start recruiting pilots for the Air Force, and the recruiting campaign, which had been begun by Mitchel Yabor, was placed in the hands of, first Aureliano, and later Villafaña. The latter was provisional chief of the Air Force.

At this time Mayor Cabañas and Colonel Martin Elena arrived in exile.

We received the news that it had also been decided in Cuba not to assign posts within the Front but to distribute duties.

The Triple A had been given **action**.

The "Rescue" organization had been assigned **supplies**.

The M.R.R. had taken **propaganda**.

Montecristi was given **treasury**.

The Christian Democrats took over **organization** and **proselytism**.

A suggestion was also received from Cuba that the propaganda should be aimed more towards the Front and

less toward the organizations. This was immediately approved in exile.

I received a note from "Francisco" asking me to rush Rafael Rivas Vázquez in his work, because the propaganda was going to be made for the front now and there was a lot to do.

At that time, the leadership of the organization was more or less as follows:

"Francisco", General Coordinator.

Aldereguía, Military Matters and Action.

The men from the Propaganda Department of CMQ, Treasury and Distribution of Propaganda.

Coordinator for Pinar del Río, Quiquí Llansó.

Coordinator for Havana, Bebo Acosta.

Coordinator for Matanzas, the man from Catholic Action who is now in Miami.

Coordinator for Las Villas, a certain Sánchez of whom I've heard nothing more and who lived in Santa Clara.

Coordinator for Camagüey, a gentleman named Argilagos who later left Cuba with the group from the Morro Castle¹.

Coordinator for Oriente, the above-mentioned Ramón. Although he claimed to follow the guidance of our leadership, "Francisco" believed he really followed Nino Díaz.

About that time, the work commissions of the Revolutionary Democratic Front began to operate in the U. S. and in some Latin American countries.

We had a meeting with Paul. He told us to find out how much money we could collect among the Cubans in exile, and anything else that the Front needed for the work of the commissions. They were willing to supply them. Paul, the administrator of Vargas Gómez' radio program, was appointed to handle the Front's funds. He prepared a budget for the expenses of the commissions, estimated the average of what was collected among the exiles, and figured out the balance, which he had promised to provide.

¹ A group of counter-revolutionary prisoners who managed to escape from the Morro Castle Prison in Havana. See pages 103 and 360.

Concerning the dependent relatives abroad of the boys who were in the training camps, **Jim** promised them a monthly allowance for their support. This was done through Social Welfare¹. At first Jim gave the money to Gaudie, who delivered it to Social Welfare which passed it on to the boys at the training camps.

From that time on, we received from **Paul** the balance between what had been collected and what was spent in the various work commissions, and from **Jim**, the subsidy for the dependent relatives of the boys at the training camps.

At that time, an American newspaperwoman, called Virginia held a press conference at the Overseas Press Club on the Cuban question. The five members of the Front's Executive Committee were invited.

Among those present was a man with great prestige as a lawyer in New York. He spoke very clearly about the problems of underdevelopment in Latin America and the steps that could be taken to solve the social problems there. Later on, after Kennedy had become President, I found out that that person had been appointed head of the task force charge of Latin American problems. I was told his name, but I can't remember it very well — I think it was **Berle**. I haven't seen him again. He seemed to me a well informed man on Latin American problems.

When we returned to Miami, we discussed military problems and agreed to appoint a chief of the Joint General Staff. Col. Eduardo Martín Elena was appointed to that post. We also agreed that Cabañas, who had just arrived from Cuba and Oscar Díaz, would become part of the Army's General Staff, but that they would not be assigned specific tasks until after they had proven their ability at work. Martín Elena would be provisional Commander-in-Chief of the Army at the same time.

Gaudie would continue as intermediary between Martín Elena and the Executive Committee, and between Mar-

¹ Money given by the Government of the United States, under the guise of "Social Welfare", to promote counter-revolutionary activity in Cuba.

tín Elena and **Jim**. He was something like Minister of Defense.

Villafaña was appointed Air Force Chief and Leslie Nubergas was appointed his Second-in-Command.

Renato Díaz Blanco was assigned to the Navy.

The Joint General Staff was supposed to be composed of Martín Elena and the provisional chiefs of the Navy and Air Force. Problems arose on account of this later on.

It was then announced that Radio Swan was starting to broadcast, and Abel Mestre was appointed as director of the program. Angel del Cerro and Enrique Huertas were appointed as editor and associate editor respectively.

We began to receive requests from Cuba for arms and explosives. They (the counterrevolutionaries) said that by-gone were the days in which printed propaganda could do the job alone.

I talked to Gaudie and informed him about this. Gaudie told me he would tell Jim about it.

A few days later I called Gaudie to inquire about how it had all come out. He told me to come over to his place and he'd give me an answer. I went to his place and Gaudie told me that **Jim** had already been informed, but as it was a very critical matter, he was going to arrange for one of the members of the Executive Committee of the underground to leave Cuba to deal directly with them. He added that the Front-in-exile was very carefully watched by Fidel's agents in all probability, and that they should not work on these matters. For security reasons this matter had to be dealt with directly with the members of the underground, and that when the suggestions of someone in exile became necessary they would ask for them.

The members of the Front decided to move to Mexico and establish their General Headquarters there; at least the Executive Committee would move first.

Aureliano said that he had to go to Venezuela first, as he had very important problems to solve there, and that he would go to Mexico from there.

Rasco said that he intended to go to Costa Rica to attend the OAS meeting and that from there he would go to

Mexico. Rasco was assigned the task of organizing a commission for Costa Rica, to attend the OAS meeting.

Before leaving, we approved Dr. Sardiñas' joining the Front. He represented several organizations in Cuba which had elected him as delegate-in-exile.

We spent a month and a half here during which time the Front could not meet due to a series of events beyond our control.

I was the first one to go to Mexico. I went with Tony de Varona, by plane.

In Mexico we contacted the persons we had talked to when we organized the Front. **Roberto**, the American¹ contacted us.

I got in touch with Dr. Quiroga and friends from Catholic Action with whom I had talked during my stay in Mexico.

We became acquainted with several Cuban exiles who wanted to go to the training camps. We promised to notify Gaudie so he could arrange for their trip.

Rojas and Tony's brother reported on the situation in México. The press was against Fidel, but government officials were not decided and apparently they were against any war-like activities on the part of anti-Castro elements. Lázaro Cárdenas (ex-President, General Lázaro Cárdenas) seemed to have a great deal of influence in government, and he was openly pro-Castro.

Gerardo de Villier accompanied me during this trip and he remained with me during my stay in Mexico.

From Panamá, Rasco sent us a cable. He left Costa Rica for Panamá to visit our friends from the Christian Democratic Party whom I had talked to when I was visiting there. He told us that he was having difficulties in obtaining a visa for Mexico. He asked us to get one for him in this country.

Justo Carrillo notified us that he was leaving for the U. S. Mexican border in his car because he had received a telephone call from Sardiñas, who was at the border, stating that he too was having a hard time obtaining a visa.

¹ *"Roberto" is the false name of the same CIA agent mentioned on page 76. Here he is admittedly considered North American.*

We didn't hear a word from Aureliano.

Later on I received a letter from Rasco in which he told me that the news of my visit to Panama had been well received, and he sent me regards from our Christian Democratic friends in Panama.

I then received a telephone call from Manolín Hernández in Miami, who told me that the People-to-People Society had invited me to address the U. S. Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention to be held in Detroit, on Latin American problems. I accepted the invitation.

Manolín Hernández also told me that "Francisco" had made a very secret visit to Miami; that he had talked to Jim, —the only person who saw him— that the conversation had dealt with the "weapons" supply (of course, Manolín told me this in code). He told me that the talks had referred to "agricultural equipment".

During these first contacts between the underground movement and Jim, the latter never said anything to the Front-in-exile, nor did he ask for anything. Later on they asked us for boats for the transportation of weapons, but he always insisted on keeping absolute control of the contact places, of the dates, time and passwords.¹ When sometime later I talked to Renato Díaz, who made one of the first trips, he told me that the instructions were delivered to him in a sealed envelope, which he was ordered to open two hours before sailing.

For security reasons they always insisted on having direct contact for all weapon's shipments.

From Mexico I went to Detroit with the idea of going back to Mexico.

In Detroit I lectured on Latin American problems. Nixon and Kennedy, who at the time were nominees as candidates for president, attended that convention. They remained there only two hours. One of them attended one day, and the other the next day. As Kennedy was leaving the conference room after delivering his speech, one of

¹ At this point, the maneuvers of the CIA in its relationship with the counter-revolutionaries are unmasked. Through these schemes, the United States governs the counter-revolutionaries, disconnecting them from their agents in Cuba, whom the CIA directly controls.

the leaders of the People-to-People Society told him: Mr. Kennedy, this gentleman is a Cuba exile". Kennedy shook my hand and said: "I am very much interested in the Cuban problem".

This is all the conversation I ever had with any official of the U. S. Government.¹ At that time Kennedy was not an official.

In Detroit I went to the Mexican Consulate to apply for a visa to enter Mexico, but I found that a new regulation had been issued to the effect that when an applicant was a Cuban citizen, the permit had to be issued through the Ministry of State. A cable had to be sent to Mexico, and the consulate issued the permit after receiving the order to do so from the Ministry.

I phoned Tony from Mexico and he said that Justo was already aware of the situation. Also that Rasco, Sardiñas, and Aureliano, who already were in Miami, had the same problem I had, but that they were trying to solve it. He suggested I should return to Miami and wait for the visa that would be given to me there. This way I could take care of the commissions still operating in Miami, together with Aureliano.

I went to Miami. The recruiting campaign for pilots was in full swing. We had to solve a problem which arose when Abel Mestre had permitted Luis Conte Agüero to speak on the Radio Swan program. Not only was Agüero not a member of the Front, but he was a member of another organization. There were also problems concerning the recruiting of pilots because some personal disagreements existed between Villafañá and Aureliano.

At this time I got word from Gaudie that **Jim** wanted to see me.

I went to see him.

Jim told me that my movement in Cuba needed a boat, and that he could not give me one. He also told me

¹ This is a false statement made by the mercenary, Manuel Artime, who contradicts himself in his own story. As can be seen in the preceding marginal notes, the whole counter-revolutionary movement in the United States maintains direct and constant relations with the CIA agents who, in reality, are the ones who direct their activities inside and outside of Cuba.

that I had to recruit a trustworthy crew. He made it clear that after obtaining the boat and the crew, I had to hand them over to him because the job was a very difficult one and it required strict security measures. He showed me a note from "Francisco", telling him to ask me to find a boat.

I told him I would try to get a hold of one.

During those days, stories about the Escambray uprising began circulating. I supposed that the boat was to take weapons to the Escambray, but later on I found out that it was not so, that the weapons were for the underground movement in the cities, although a good amount of weapons were sent to the Escambray during the arms crisis there. At least, that was what **Jim** told me in later conversations.

I called Arriola, who was then in charge of the collections made in exile and told him about the need to buy a boat according to **Jim's** specifications.

I remember one detail; it had to make at least 15 knots an hour. Arriola told me would use Renato Díaz to look for the boat, and that Renato could take care of obtaining a crew, as he was in charge of the Front's navy.

At first we tried to borrow a boat with those specifications, but it was impossible.

Finally Arriola and Renato found one for sale at the Miami River, which seemed to meet the requirements. Its name was the *Terry Knot*, and it was an old rescue patrol boat. The price asked for the boat was \$14,000, but we only had \$8,000 on hand. Arriola said he would get the balance, and he did so in three days. Renato gathered the crew.

Arriola told me he wanted to be in charge of supplies, and he was appointed Supply Chief for the organization. He was the first Supply Chief we ever had.

Jim asked me to send Arriola over to him and not be angry about it, but that he had to discuss those matters with Arriola directly. According to what Arriola told me later on, the only thing **Jim** discussed with him was the boat's maintenance, where to keep it, and how to locate Renato. Everything else he discussed directly with Renato.

Arriola said that Jim used to tell him that the dividing of the groups into cells was fundamental in all underground work.

I remember that the first trip of the Terry Knot were unsuccessful, according to Arriola, because they couldn't establish contact with those who were supposed to meet the boat.

In fact, the Terry Knot was a bad purchase, as I think it could make only one or two trips. Neither of them was for "Francisco" although they were for the Front. Jim had asked my permission to use the Terry Knot to make trips for other organizations too. I told him that as long as they were members of the Front it was O. K.

During the second succesful trip, or maybe the first one, I don't quite remember, Terry Knot ran aground. The bottom was damaged I think, on the ship's keel. It had to be put in dry dock, and I don't know whether they used it again or not.

About a month and a half after the Executive Committee's last meeting, and in view of the impossibility, or at least the delay in obtaining a visa for Mexico, we talked to Rasco, Tony, and Justo on the telephone, and we all decided to go back to the U. S., as the work of the Front had been greatly delayed.

The Front met in the U. S. at last. Many problems were yet to be solved. The propaganda problem was solved, the matter of the pilots was solved also, when Villafaña was put in charge of it together with Gaudie.

The job of Recording Secretary, the only existing office in the Front, sent from José Ignacio Rasco to Sardiña, at Rasco's request. A few new and important subjects were brought up.

First of all, there was the problem of discussing the provision of arms to Cuba with the underground organizations only excluding the members of the Executive Committee of the Front.

The second one was the need for a Coordinator for the front, to speed up its work.

The third problem was to try to stop each organization from carrying out its own propaganda, and to concentrate all the propaganda on the Front. Several organizations had

started propaganda campaigns of their own, creating great confusion.

I can't remember the other subjects discussed, therefore, they must not have been too important.

Considering the first point, one of the inconveniences mentioned was the lack of communications between the Exile Front and the Front-in-Cuba, which seemed to be a simple matter between **Jim** and the Front-in-Cuba.

This subject and others that I don't remember took four days to discuss.

The third point was solved very easily. All the organizations promised not to put out their own propaganda, except leaflets dealing with internal matters, that is, internal periodicals which would be almost exclusively read by their members.

The first point was left for the last.

Aureliano disagreed on the need for a coordinator. His thesis was that it was the only Front and that the Front's objective was to unite all the organizations that made up the Front, and that the election of a Coordinator implied electing a Provisional President, and he was against that. He believed that an example should be given to the world by leading the only Front to victory, and that we should forget the idea that a leader was necessary for a political thesis.

The contrary point of view was agreed on by all except Aureliano. We all believed that a leadership where six people had to meet in order to agree on something was a failure, or at least it would greatly delay the work.

Aureliano said that he would consult with his organization in Cuba and that in the meantime he would abstain from attending the Front's meetings. We tried to convince him to attend and not leave the Front, but it was useless.

The unfounded basis of Aureliano's position was shown later on when Dr. Miró Cardona was elected President of the Revolutionary Council, after achieving a greater degree of unity.

On that occasion, Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona was elected Coordinator.

In reference to the first point, we agreed that Tony would talk to **Jim** and explain to him all the doubts that

had arisen, and the inconveniences created by the fact that the contacts of the underground organizations communicated with and received their supplies directly from them.

We gave Tony a vote of confidence to direct the Commissions of the Front, but he said he wanted the Executive to meet weekly to review all that was done during the period.

Justo Carrillo asked permission to go to Europe to talk to Haya de la Torre, because he had the idea of holding a Convention of Leftist Democratic Parties, to analyze the Cuban case, and he thought Haya de la Torre would be all for that idea. In addition, he would be one of the main participants in the Convention.

Sardiñas was given the task of traveling through Central and South America to propagandize in favor of the RDF.

Pancho Carrillo, Justo's nephew, would remain as his substitute and Dr. Maceo would take Sardiñas' place.

Dr. Tony de Varona spoke to **Jim** and reported **Jim's** position to us as follows:

That when any member of the Executive wanted to send a message to his organization, **Jim** would send it; that if we cared to, we could send the message in code so that **Jim** wouldn't know what it was all about; that **Jim** had also notified the heads of our underground organizations that when they wanted to send us any message, they could send it the same way they used to communicate with **Jim**; that is, if they (the heads of the underground) wanted to, they could write in a code we both understood; that it was not advisable that we discuss the shipment of supplies to Cuba with them (the Front) because it endangered the security of operations, because undoubtedly we were all very carefully watched. We had to talk to many persons, we had to move from one place to another very often, and all of this made us easy prey for the Fidelista fifth column; that the Front had appointed a trustworthy man, Gaudie, to handle these affairs with him (**Jim**); that if we wanted we could appoint someone else but that direct contact with him would be a weak link in the security of operations; that by just following us, (the enemy) could find him and once he was located, by following him, all the secrecy of the operation would be exposed. He asked us to think about it, that

if we insisted after all, Jim was willing to give in, but we would be responsible for what might happen.

After long discussions it was agreed that the matter should be dealt with between Jim and the organizations in Cuba.

In reference to this we received a message from the Front in Cuba, which stated that "Francisco" had been appointed Coordinator for the Front and that he was to leave (Cuba for Miami) to discuss several things with the Front-in-Exile.

We got word from New York that Cobos, Assistant Secretary General of the Triple "A", had left Aureliano and had organized the Independent Triple "A". He disagreed with Aureliano's decision to leave the Front. He asked to be admitted to the Front. Cobos' case took a long time to solve due to a reason we shall mention later on.

During those days, Dr. Felipe Pazos and Col. Barquín arrived in the U. S. Shortly after that Chibás, an engineer, and Piti Estévez arrived and started a propaganda campaign in favor of the People's Revolutionary Movement, Manolo Ray's movement. At the beginning, contacts with Ray's group were successful. When Barquin and Felipe Pazos arrived, Justo Carrillo held a discussion with them before leaving for Europe.

The boys who fled the Morro prison with Gallego Franca and Argilagos, our Coordinator in Camagüey, and who had also contributed together with Franca to obtaining the boat to get the Morro boys out, also arrived during those days. I talked to Argilagos and he said he had been forced to leave (Cuba) because it was impossible for him to work efficiently in Camagüey. He added that he had not been able to contact "Francisco" before leaving and that he had left as coordinator for the province, a girl named Olga, who worked in the Núñez Bank. "Francisco" already knew this girl but said that I should send a message to "Francisco" notifying him that she was the one replacing Argilagos.

I explained to him that "Francisco" would arrive shortly and that he could talk to him personally.

Dr. Miró Cardona arrived in Miami at that time.

Tony talked to Miró who said he had no intentions of joining any group but would dedicate all his efforts to try to unite all other non Batista groups which had not joined the Front as yet, that he had no personal ambitions and that he would put himself at Tony's service to do anything he could for him (Tony) or the Front.

Miró called a series of meeting to this end, particularly with the November 30th group and the People's Revolutionary Movement.

At the beginning the meetings were fruitless as the other organizations had little desire to join a common bloc. The boys from the November 30th Movement showed the greatest interest in accomplishing that unitedly.

"Francisco" arrived in Miami and we held a secret meeting with him, which was attended by all the members of the Executive Committee. Substitutes attended in place of those who were absent.

In general he reported that **Jim** was working not only with him but with the heads of all the Front's movements in Cuba. He told us something we don't know; that the "Rescue" group had smuggled two arms shipments into Cuba. Tony confirmed it. He added that he hadn't said anything because he had given Jim his word of honor that he wouldn't tell anyone. He had found out because he had gotten Lomberto's envoy in contact with **Jim** and had witnessed the conversation.

"Francisco" said he wanted to talk to **Jim** too, because the supplies were very deficient and believed it was due to lack of organization and interest on **Jim's** part. He couldn't believe **Jim** didn't have better and more efficient ways to supply them with provisions. This was a general complaint in Cuba. For instance, at the time it had been possible to get only arms shipment into Cuba for our organization. He also said that in general the Front-in-Cuba recognized the leadership of the Coordinator-in-Exile and the Executive Committee-in-Exile. But data on supplies being sent to Cuba was not useful because we could not publicize it, although we were interested in knowing how things were going. However, they would be interested in reporting to their organizations about political developments in exile. Up

to then information about the political process in exile was totally lacking in Cuba. Many things that were said in Cuba about the way leaders-in-exile lived he had found were not true. However, they needed data and information for counteracting this campaign and to report to the organizations. In addition, they all needed political guidance from the Front. Even though each organization had its own program, people needed to know the ideas of the Front as such, as well as its general plan.

At that meeting with "Francisco" we told him of a conversation we had had with **Paul** the day before, in which we had informed him that all the money spent on arms and ammunition for the Cuban struggle would be paid back by the Front after victory, as we didn't want to have to be in debt to anyone in order to act in accordance with the national interest. **Paul** had said that the industrialists he represented would consider themselves well paid with the defeat of communism in Cuba, and that they weren't interested in profit, whether it be through weapons, or later through being given special privileges in non-communist Cuba. Nevertheless we (the Front) had said we would pay for the weapons anyway, but we didn't want to lack means for the struggle. **Paul** said that the problem would be to find him to pay him back after the fight was over.

I could only talk to "Francisco" that evening because he disappeared with **Jim**. One week later **Jim** called me to say good-bye to "Francisco", who was leaving for Cuba, and I only had the opportunity to give him some encouragement.

I talked to him about the Argilagós and Olga matter, and he told me Olga had contacted him already.

He told me in briefly that Quiqui Llansó was still in Pinar del Río, and Bebo Acosta in Havana; in Matanzas we had a man whose name I don't remember, from Catholic Action or the Catholic Knights and who is in exile now in Miami. The fellow named Sánchez had disappeared from Santa Clara and someone else whose name I don't quite remember had taken his place. I think his name was Rodríguez. He is now in exile. He had left Olga in Camagüey, and Nino had gone illegally to Oriente. Ramón, who had left Titi León, had joined Nino.

I talked to "Francisco" about the idea I had had for a long time of coming to Cuba and starting guerrilla warfare in one area. I also told him I intended to hint to **Jim** about the possibility of going to the base for training, of taking a group of boys already trained with me and getting into an area where we could fight.

I told him I didn't like Las Villas because there was a rebel center there and I believed that many centers were more effective than concentrating all forces in one.

I told him that it made sense to think that Fidel would expect me to go to Oriente, and that Pinar del Río was the province I liked best. Besides, I had the advantage that shipments could be made faster there than any other place.

"Francisco" told me that it had to be considered very carefully. It was not only going there, but the conditions under which we would work, the conditions in the province, etc., had to be taken into consideration. As soon as he arrived in Cuba he would work on it and he would let me know. I shouldn't go to an improvised suicide... I should be patient. Basically he liked the idea but he thought it was premature.

He told me that at the moment the most important thing was the supplying of weapons and explosives for Cuba. The members of the organizations there were desperate to start the war action.

He told me that the supplying was deficient. It seemed to him that **Jim's** organization was rotten and that he ("Francisco") was going to remain there (in the U. S.) all the time necessary, to make a more efficient arrangement with **Jim**.

Before saying good-bye, "Francisco" told me to heed any message I received from **Jim**, as the latter had to go some place else to help organize supplies.

"Francisco" disappeared. One week later I received word from **Jim** that he needed a fast boat and that "Francisco" recommended my talking to the "Indian" Babum (Santiago), who knew something about it and had connections with sea captains. He told me to tell Babum that I was a friend of Oscar Salas. I had met Babum already, so it was an easy job.

Babum started looking for a boat; he found a very fast one, the Powder, in the Miami River, at a price of \$9,000. Between the "Indian" and several friends, the money was collected. From that time on, Santiago took over the problem of supplies. Arriola continued taking care of the *Terry Knot*, which was undergoing repairs.

I saw "Francisco" at one of my meeting places with **Jim** before he went back to Cuba clandestinely. We said good-bye.

At about this time, Manolo Ray arrived in the U. S.

I think he had an interview with Tony, during which he said that he was willing to collaborate with the Front, but that for the time being he didn't want to join in, but preferred to work on his own with his organization.

Later on I found out that Santiago Babum had bought another fast boat.

Justo, Rasco, and Sardiñas returned from the respective countries they were in. The Front started to meet daily to draft a plan and discuss some important matters, among them, a military penal Code, and to decide the different posts in the Army General Staff.

The problem of the Army General Staff was the only thing we could not solve.

I had a talk with Miró Cardona during which we analyzed the attitudes of the different non-Batista groups in exile. We agreed on most points.

Through Gaudie, I received a message from **Jim** asking me to see him. I went to see **Jim** and he said he had received a message from "Francisco", who was arranging for me to go to Pinar del Río, but that it was slow going because the area had not been worked properly. However, that job would take the same amount of time the training course would. He would wait for me personally.

I talked to **Jim** and he told me there was no objection, but that he had to find out when the trip could take place.

Quiqui Llansó arrived shortly afterwards from Cuba. He told me that he had been working on my Pinar del Río project, but that "Francisco" had told him to go to help the "Indian" because there were many problems in establishing contact between the boats that were arriving and

the ones waiting for them, due to which many trips had failed.

Quiqui had been taken to the exact rendezvous across from the Nautical Club and was to go as a guide on one of the trips. He continued to work with Babum.

Finally I received the news that I could go to the training camp.

Before leaving I attended a meeting at which we discussed the possibility of enlarging the Front. It was a failure. The Coordinator from Matanzas also arrived before I left, but I could not talk to him.

I asked **Jim** to notify "Francisco" that I was leaving for the training camps.

I left Manolín Hernández as my substitute in the Front's Executive Committee.

I went to the Moulin Rouge and contacted **Jim**. I took his car to a place in Coral Gables, it was on a corner. Another car was waiting there. It was one of those delivery trucks with doors in the back. The back was opened and it had seats and air conditioned. I sat down and they closed the doors. When it was opened again we were at an abandoned airport where a plane was waiting. I climbed aboard. The plane had sealed windows. It flew about 4 or 5 hours and landed. When I looked out I was at another abandoned airport. It seemed there was no one around.

I was taken from that plane to another one that flew about two hours. It landed. When I got out it was completely dark and I only saw a flashlight beamed at a ladder at the rear of a covered truck, one of those used to transport people. I climbed up the ladder and "**Limpy**" **Carl**¹ was waiting for me inside. He had been **Jim**'s assistant when the recruiting began. He told me he was in charge of training infiltration teams.

He told me he would have to give me intensive training because he didn't have the time to train me the same way as the others. When the truck stopped we were in the jungle, but there were some very comfortable barracks with electric lights, refrigerators, and all the comforts of civilization.

¹ *Carl: A false name of another CIA agent.*

The boys at the camps were desperate. Many of them had had 10 months of it and they claimed they had received the same training 4 or 5 times, over and over again.

I was given instructions on the following: guerrilla warfare, airlift, receiving supplies by sea, explosives, light weapons, bazookas, recoilless 57 mm. guns, survival, intelligence, underground activities, etc.

About one month after my arrival in camp, I was visited by Billy¹, an American whom I was told worked for defence in the camps.

Billy showed me a typewritten cable where Paul told me that very serious political problems had arisen in Miami and that Manolin Hernández felt that I should go and see if they could be solved. The American told me that if I wanted to go they would provide the means, but if I wanted to stay I could do so.

Believing that Manolin wouldn't call me for unimportant details, I told him I was willing to go.

Before I left, Carl told me that I had to select an infiltration team to take with me to the U. S., although we would be separated upon arriving there until I was ready to go to Cuba.

He gave me a list with the names of the better prepared men so I could select the team. I picked out "Chiqui" García Martínez, Izquierdo, Molé, Joe and Nilo Alvarez.

All of them went back to Miami with me, but once there, we separated and I went my own way.

The first thing I found in Miami was the big controversy about the so-called "theory of generations". The Front split into two groups: Manolin Hernández, Rasco, Sardiñas, and Cobos (who joined the Front while I was abroad as part of a group composed of the Triple A-in-Exile, which was disgusted with Aureliano, and Nodal's Triple A inside Cuba, and the other group composed of Tony and Justo Carrillo.

At the beginning I tried to unite them, unsuccessfully, because it seemed to me there had been an advance discussion between one of the groups and Ray.

At this time I received the news that the people at the camps had a serious problem with Martín Elena and the General Staff in Miami. They claimed, and rightfully so,

¹ Billy, an American: The false name of another CIA agent.

that they had only received one visit from the General Staff in Miami since the opening of the camps and that they wouldn't fight under officers they didn't know. The problem arose because some people at the camps opposed the attitude taken by the trainees. The problem had eased up but still existed.

Jim asked Tony, Maceo (Sardiñas's substitute), and me if we wanted to go to the camps to talk to the boys and solve the problem. We accepted. We paid a two day visit to the training camps. It was a very fast visit—during which the pictures that were published in the newspapers were taken. The problem was solved.

Tony wasn't very happy with the Brigade's leadership; not from a technical point of view, but from the point of view that he did not know we returned. Martín Elena and the General Staff from Miami had presented their resignations.

Meanwhile, I was operating from what Jim's friends called "defense quarters". That is, a house not known to every one, taken care of by foreigners, mostly Americans, where you have to make an appointment outside in order to see someone. The reason for this was that I had already taken an infiltration course and they didn't want anyone to know the subjects taught. Later on this was so lax that the people trained in infiltration walked around downtown Miami.

Then I received word from Tony that he wanted to go to New York with me and Justo for an interview with Ray, Felipe Pazos, and Chibás. He believed that we could all reach a satisfactory agreement.

I attended the meetings. There were great differences with Ray's group, PRM. Although we reached some minor agreements, Ray seemed to be somewhat intransigent. We couldn't agree on a Coordinator for the group, and Ray claimed for himself the right to take certain economic steps in the Provisional Government.

While in New York we were informed that after Martín Elena resigned his military post, the Screening Commission had ceased functioning. As a result, a trip had been organized without even having sent the applications to Sanguis' Investigating Committee, and many persons who shouldn't have been allowed to go, went on the trip.

While we were locating **Jim** who was beginning to investigate the problem, another such trip took place. **Jim** gave this job of screening to Sangenis.

We went to Miami and continued trying to reorganize the Front, as our discussions in New York had not been successful. Finally we were able to reorganize and enlarge the Front as follows ¹.

Dr. Manuel Antonio de Varona: Coordinator.

Dr. José Ignacio Rasco: Christian Democratic Party.

Ernesto Fernández Travieso: Student Directorate.

Dr. Manuel Hernández Puente: RRM.

Jesús Fernández: November 30th Movement.

Dr. Manuel Cobo: Independent Triple A.

Dr. Andrés Vargas Gómez: May 20th Movement.

Sergio Carbó.

José Alvarez Díaz.

Carlos Hevia.

Dr. Antonio Maceo.

Collada: Democratic Revolutionary Labor Front.

Dr. Justo Carrillo: Montecristi Movement.

Once the Front was reorganized, and as I couldn't go because I lived in the defense quarters, Manolín Hernández continued attends meetings. He kept me posted, as policy was my responsibility.

First I received a report on the talks with Ray. We agreed on the advisability of total unity, provided we agreed on a minimum plan.

As the situation in Cuba was boiling and **Jim** had reported that military operations would begin very soon, we agreed to create a Revolutionary Council with Ray participating and to elect a council president on whom we all agreed.

I was appointed mediator in a commission composed of Justo Carrillo, José Alvarez Ríos, and myself.

¹ This group of "leaders" of the divided counterrevolutionary organizations sponsored by United States imperialists, aside from those mentioned on page 90 includes other agents from the past politics who enriched themselves during the past regimes —gangsters and traitors to the workers movement.

Dr. Miró Cardona was elected president of the Council. He was given a unanimous vote of confidence to select the members of the Revolutionary Council.

The first thing Dr. Miró did was ask **Jim** to prepare a trip to the training camps for Tony, Hevia, himself, and me. He had been informed that many irregularities had taken place in the selection of those who would be shipped out. Besides, he wanted to inspect what was going on at the camps personally.

Miró told me that if we found many problems at the camps, he would leave me there as civilian delegate to solve them.

Before leaving, **Jim** told me that "Francisco" was in town trying to solve some supply problems and that he wanted to see me before I left.

I talked to him. I explained Miró's case and told him it was possible I would go with the brigade. He said that made him feel better.

I asked "Francisco" for a contact in Cuba to whom I could refer after landing. As we didn't know where we were going to land, he said he would go to the spot where the brigade landed. "Francisco" asked **Jim** confidentially about the landing place and **Jim** said that he didn't even know himself, that it was only known by the military commanders of the brigade. Later on I found out that not even they knew.

He asked me how long it would take for the landing. I said it would take place in about three weeks. He said that in two weeks he would be in Cuba again.

We left for the training camps. Once there, Miró, Tony, Hevia, and I talked to the troops.

Miró had a long conversation with **Frank**.¹ After that he told me that the fellows had asked him if I could stay, and that he had agreed because there were many things to be solved. First of all that there were 12 men who should stay at the training camp because in a political sense, they would give the brigade a bad name. Another problem was the matter of increasing the number of men in the brigade.

¹ *Frank: The false name of another CIA agent whose real name is William Freeman. (See page 148). This individual was the assistant chief instructor of the mercenary brigade in Guatemala.*

Miró would take care of that outside. Another thing was the keeping in contact with each other. He told me that **Frank** said that the 12 men would remain in the camp and wouldn't come in the invasion. In reference to communications, **Frank** had said that the camp's radio was going to be at our disposal, that I should deliver the messages in English to **Frank** or the second commanding officer of the instructors and he would see to it that they were sent out immediately. Miró would deliver the messages to **Jim** in Miami and **Jim** would send them at once. They left and I remained at the camp. After being in the camp for three days I found out that the aviators had been transferred from Retalhuleu to a secret camp that no one knew. I reported this to Dr. Miró in a message and didn't receive any answer. Later on I found out that the mobilization was to take place in a matter of days. I reported it to Dr. Miró and didn't receive any reply to this either. That surprised me a great deal.

The day before we left... no... two days before... I had a private conversation with **Frank**. I told him how surprised I was at not having received any answer from Dr. Miró. And I told him privately that as I hadn't received any reply to the message I had delivered to him personally, I would talk to the men to tell them they couldn't go on board yet. **Frank** didn't say that he wasn't responsible for Dr. Miró's not having replied. He said he had to leave the same day for the other secret base, but that before leaving he would ask the second commanding officer to send an urgent message. He asked me to deliver the message to the second commanding officer, which I did. I reminded him about the 12 men. He said he would tend to the matter. The next day, the day before our departure, one of the instructors handed me a piece of paper that said more or less: **EVERYTHING O. K. ONWARD. GOOD LUCK. MIRO.** The rest is well known by all.

Statement of the mercenary

ULISES CARBO YANIZ

Journalist, assistant editor of the reactionary newspaper "Prensa Libre", and son of its former publisher. His statement reveals the direct participation of imperialism in the defeated invasion as well as many details concerning the mercenary aggression.

Havana, April 28, 1961
"Year of Education".

The prisoner states that he fought against the Cuban Revolution because he was involved in a series of circumstances beyond his control which, in one way or another, led him to take part in a hare-brained invasion plan.

Among these circumstances were the following: First, the very nature of his profession as a journalist, which drove him to become active in the resistance against the government, since the newspaper on which he worked, **Prensa Libre**, had been intervened 11 months before. In regard to this he wishes to make clear that after leaving Cuba he heard that the taking over of the newspaper **Prensa Libre** had been carried out without previous approval and consultation with the Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro. He adds that another circumstance was undoubtedly the fact that after having been out of his country, by whatever means possible, even though he was not completely in agreement with means possible, he was not completely in agreement with the course of action. One more reason that could be considered as self-esteem, was that many of his friends and companions in exile were jumping on the crazy invasion bandwagon, while he stayed behind in Miami. As a result, he felt compelled to take part

in the plan so as not to seem cowardly. He was always reluctant, since he always believed he was going to get the worst part of the deal, but he felt that fate was playing a decisive part in the situation.

Although it may seem incredible, those who should have known all about the ghastly plot prepared by the United States regarding the future of the invasion and the future of Cuba, actually, throughout the whole process, were unaware of it, or let themselves be deceived on purpose.

The conspiracy against the Cuban Government in the United States was sponsored by the CIA. He noticed from the beginning, on arriving at Retalhuleu in Guatemala, that neither the CIA nor the United States acted as allies of the exiles. He adds that for years he had been influenced by U. S. policy. Those ideas seriously influenced his decision. The principle of conditioned reflex made them all react against anything that meant a change in the way of life instilled in their minds since childhood. The Cuban Revolution brought about such an extraordinary change that not everyone was prepared to accept it. Little by little, however, they came to understand it, at least in its basic and most important aspects, those who refer to the right of all peoples to their own destiny, their own internal policy and their own self-determination, without having to consult any other people of the world regarding their way of life. Deep down inside, he has always agreed with Fidel Castro's statements, because they are unquestionable. The prisoner believed that around 1,200 men landed.

The prisoner states that he does not have a complete knowledge of the different military objectives, the amount of weapons, planes, the location of battalions, the objectives of the groups at Playa Larga, San Blas and Horquita. He heard that the objectives should be held for three or four days until the supposed internal support of the rebellion could be achieved. He ignored everything about the military plans, weapons, etc., as he was in Guatemala for only eight days and from there he was taken to Puerto Cabezas, in Nicaragua, where he joined the crew of the Houston from which he carried out his mission as a correspondent.

In regard to the military instructors for the operation, the prisoner knew that they were North Americans. They

did not use last names — only first names such as **Jimmy, Les, John, Frank**, etc. He didn't make friends with the Americans nor did he have any direct conversations with them, since he had been in Retalhuleu for only 8 days. But he could see very clearly that the North Americans isolated themselves from the Cubans. They lived separately and had separate clubs. They drank beer and ate better than the Cubans. They were hermetical and stand-offish; there was no comradeship among the Cubans and the Americans. Instead the Cubans were considered as numbers and the supposed instructors were the bosses. As to the treatment that the prisoners received since their adventure at the (Bahía de Cochinos) Bay of Pigs, a short distance from the sunken ship, the Houston, the prisoner categorically affirms that the rural militia, the regular militia, as well as the Rebel Army treated him as though he were one of them. They immediately gave him clothing, since he was practically naked and barefooted, and they fed him from their own rations of meat and sweets. This they did in the best of humor and with the traditional courtesy for which Cubans are noted. This, he states, surprised him a great deal. He was not treated as a prisoner but as a friend. This situation continued until he was taken into town where he was again invited to have a meal and some chocolates. He was again treated with unlimited courtesy. Then Major Luzón arrived and took him to Havana in his automobile to join the other prisoners. All along the way the prisoner was given refreshment, coffee etc. The prisoner again states he was treated with extraordinary courtesy and kindness by the members of the Militia and Army. He was particularly interested in making this fact very clear.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT. The prisoner states that he arrived in Miami on May 20 1960, with his wife and children. He decided to go to work. He was willing to take any job, but in the South of the United States, with its unemployment problem, it was hard to make a living. As an exile, he began to mix personal matters, such as that of making a living, with politics. Varona, Artime, Carrillo, Rasco and others representing a stable policy, were in Miami. It was impossible to avoid conspiratorial activity. It happened that a large number of exile from **Prensa Libre** began to arrive in Miami:

the editors, office personnel, administrators, etc., all of them in difficult financial straits. The idea of editing a paper-in-exile developed among the administrators of *Prensa Libre*, primarily with the object of making a living for the employees and the bosses. There was no money, no one had enough to pay for his room and board and other bills. Even if the Carbó family did have some money outside Cuba it was very little and certainly not enough to feed all the families, not even the families of the administrative personnel. With things as they were, they began looking for the economic resources with which to publish a paper. The eviles didn't donate any money. A trip that (the prisoner) made to Canada almost completely solved the situation. The **Canadian International Paper Company**, which had sold them newsprint for over ten years and from whom they had bought large amounts of paper, gave them funds. At first they contributed \$5,000 and later on some more, and then monthly they gave them enough for the salaries of \$50 a week for each editor, office worker and director, etc., the same salary was given to everyone, which is very little to live on in Miami and to cover expenses. In the end the printed paper never did come out because it cost too much. **Diario de la Marina** and **Avance** were able to come out, but not **Prensa Libre**. Through Andrés Vargas Gómez they made contact with some North Americans who owned the **Gibraltar Steamship Corporation** and the radio station, Radio Swan. They bought a half hour of time daily for about a thousand dollars a month, which had to be paid punctually as long as the news program was on the air. They all ate and lived in Miami thanks to the Canadian International Paper Company which, being their former paper supplier, was obligated to help them. The undersigned states that his work on the editorial staff was limited to a few articles, particularly interviews, during the first months. Later, although he continued collecting his salary, he began looking for a business arrangement in the garage belonging to a relative and friend, Eduardo Beltrán, who was not involved in political matters and who sold spare parts. In addition, he occasionally earned a little as a translator at the University of Miami. That's the way things were, and the political activity continued. Rasco, Artime,

Varona, etc. made statements in the American papers almost every day. One could see the struggle for power very early. It was not a joint undertaking to defeat the Cuban government, but on the contrary, a subordinate struggle of subordinate interests to see who would be president. The division was constantly growing. In the Spanish language newspaper, **Diario de las Américas**, the polemic was disgusting. They were dividing up the bacon before they got their hands on it. Meanwhile, a recruiting office for volunteers to go and fight in Cuba was opened, but the subordinate struggle among the political leaders went on as always. It seemed as though the CIA didn't care about that. What the Americans wanted from the exiles was **cannon fodder**, come what may. The exiles, some discouraged about what was going on, some through desperation, and other through a false sense of duty, were one by one enlisting, turning their backs on the already formed Democratic Revolutionary Front, which was a boiling kettle of passions and a disgusting show. Many had the illusion that "the Americans would solve the problem" so they absolutely abandoned their national pride and rights. This a story that repeated itself throughout the following months. The Americans through the CIA, became more domineering all the time and the Cubans more humiliated and desperate. The Cubans were forced to live off the charity of a U. S. Government subsidy, a hand-out given to those who stood in line at the aid stations, the so-called refugee centers—a shameful situation. A man by the name of **Bender**, supposedly a CIA head under the orders of **Allan Dulles**, was running around Miami holding meetings with some of the aforementioned Cubans. Neither the prisoner nor his family knew anything about **Bender**, but they did know that he existed. He was the mystery man behind the whole conspiracy. He was the one who gave money to the Front, which already had an office at 17th and Biscayne, and who gave money for the secret expenses of the Democratic Revolutionary Front's underground organization in Cuba. How was the money handled and by whom in the Front? No one knew. At least this prisoner had no knowledge of it. The prisoner does know that a large part of that money was sent to Cuba for the expenses of the underground. This was a big secret, and he only knows that it was handled through someone by the name

of "Francisco"¹, who was in charge of the Front-in-Cuba. The prisoner remembers attending a meeting of the Front with Varona. The prisoner remembers having attended meetings on two or three occasions as a journalist or impartial Cuban, without taking part in the executive, and he can verify that all the complaints of the politicians were directed against one another and not against the general plan for a revolution against the Castro government. He remembers that on one occasion a so-called "theory of generations" was supported by some of the members of the Front, including Rasco, Artime, Sardiña, and Manolo Cobo (of the Independent Triple A) representing a sort of coup d'état against Varona and Carrillo and stating publicly that the future government leaders of Cuba ought to be young, progressive, revolutionary men, etc. Neither Varona nor Rasco accepted it since that would have meant their retirement from politics. After that, the Front maintained the status quo, only paying salaries and office expenses. That impasse lasted about a month and a half. Then Manuel Ray arrived in Miami, and all hell broke loose.

He demanded a very large cut from the Front and an equal number of delegates, in order to create a new organization and unite all the opposing factions which already numbered about 200. The initials of secret organizations represented in Miami sprang up like weeds. Ray sought support in Washington, very close to the State Department, through Muñoz Marín and the new Puerto Rican Under Secretary, Morales Carrión. Through their influence, they situated Ray in a position over everyone else, even in spite of the opinion of the CIA. It appeared that Mr. Kennedy wanted to pretend that a new government in Cuba would have a supposedly progressive inclination. Ray looked good to them. There was resistance from the Front, but in the face of the inevitable, either Ray or the withdrawal of economic and military support by the Americans, Ray was accepted under so-called points of agreement for the revolutionary program. These points included the holding of elections in Cuba within 18 months, a return to the Constitution of 1940, to a system of private property, and the unconditional support

¹ The so-called "Francisco" is none other than the counterrevolutionary, Oscar Salas Marrero, as is stated in another part of this account. (See page 89).

of the "hemispheric thesis" that is, support of the United States as the leader of American democracy. The negotiator between the Front and Manuel Ray was Miró Cardona. Together, Ray and the Front held secret meeting with members of the CIA, who continued using only their first names, never last names. If they did use them they used false last names. This, however, was childish. Everyone knew that the United States, through the CIA, was paying the expenses of the insurrection in Cuba and abroad. The only thing that the Americans did not let the Cuban political leaders in on was the military aspect of the plan that was being prepared. That, no one knew. Not Varona, not even Miró Cardona. They were promised, of course, that everything would be solved in Cuba and that the new cause would win power with a large military apparatus, but they didn't give the Cubans any details about the plan. It seems that this caused the resignation of Col. Martín Elena as chief of the Front's general staff and the recruiting offices. Off the record he said that as military men they were "being left out" of the plans. There were other complaints also, petty intrigues and personal ambition, of course.

All in all, what was going on in Miami was a mystery. Everyone thought they knew everything and no one knew anything. They only had blind faith in Uncle Sam, who was the one paying the bills for the revolution. To be sure, there were arguments between the CIA and the U. S. State Department, especially when Manuel Ray arrived on the scene. The CIA, which was sponsoring the Front, flatly rejected him, but Washington demanded that he be included. Muñoz Marín was participating in the affair and he had many supporters in the United States. When Kennedy came into power, internal affairs within the different departments of the democratic administration became even more centralized. The Pentagon, it was obvious, took control of the military camps in Guatemala. Kennedy brought the two extremes ends together. What Eisenhower had left behind him, to (the prisoner's) way of thinking, was political chaos, without any control. An additional detail that hasn't been mentioned before, was Dr. Aureliano Sánchez Arango's position. As is known, Aureliano left the Front when Tony Varona was named General Coordinator. He explained his attitude by saying that his organization in Cuba would not

permit him to belong to an organization that did not have a joint leadership, such as the Front had at first, and that since a head or a coordinator had been named, neither he (nor the Triple A) had anything to do there. Thus a phantom organization was created, possibly by members of the CIA themselves: the Independent Triple A of Manuel Cobo. Organization that didn't really exist, was created only to teach him (Aureliano) a lesson. After that happened, near the end of 1960, Aureliano acted on his own together with American friends who were giving him arms with which to invade Cuba, without his being a part of the main body.

The preceding is a broad account. Going back to the attitude of the undersigned, he affirms that the exile found himself in a desperate situation. He foolishly believed that he had the responsibility of participating in the action, even if only as a newspaper correspondent. He was fed up with the ambitions of the politicians. He didn't really know what was being planned from a military point of view. Friends of his were constantly being recruited in the Front's recruiting offices. The day of the action was approaching so he left. He committed the foolishness, the stupidity, of getting into the middle of that mess of the CIA, the Front, Ray, Aureliano, etc. He didn't know what he was going to find in it, but he had to become a part of it in order to understand it once and for all. It might have been that in the final analysis there would still be ideals to fight for. But there were none. The world ended for the undersigned when he arrived at Retalhuleu about a month before the invasion. In Guatemala he found an even worse situation. Some of those who had been recruited in New York and in other places were people he couldn't even think of living or mingling with... war criminals, "batistianos", common crooks, as well as other Cubans like himself, who were desperate and deceived, but who were not bad people. A keen sense of duty can override, who knows what, even logic or reason. But going back to Retalhuleu, there he found a real concentration camp, dominated by insane American apostles. The Cubans had no escape; they were just like prisoners. The camp was surrounded by Guatemalan forces to prevent their escape. To try to leave was to risk being shot or being considered a coward. He thought of fleeing. He even planned it with some companions such as Julio Gon-

zález Rebull. It was too late. He was there only 8 days. One morning, in transport planes that bore no insignia "and without anyone knowing about it" beforehand, they were taken to Nicaragua, none other than the paradise of the Somozas. The prisoner mentions that when he was at the base in Guatemala he learned that President Ydígoras visited there almost every week, although he never saw him personally because of the short time that he was there. The base at Guatemala is just a farm, or rather, two farms: one that belongs to Ydígoras, and another to a man named Alejo, who is a relative of his. The misery that exists there is indescribable. Along the roads one could see the Indians dying of hunger and parasitism, begging the passers-by for cigarettes. There's going to be trouble there soon. Getting back to the subject: the prisoner has regretted everything that has happened since he arrived in Guatemala. He feels that Prime Minister Castro was at least 90% right in everything he said. In Guatemala he found out that once they had sent newsmen to the training base to prove that there were no Cubans there. According to what he was told (he wasn't there) the Cubans were hidden in the underbrush while the newsmen and photographers took films proving that a training camp didn't exist. It was ridiculous.

The American instructors that he did see, *approximately* 150, enjoyed all the privileges. The Cubans had to be at their command, to lick their boots in order to live a little better. That's one thing he (the prisoner) never did. At that time he hated imperialism with all his might... as he was saying, one morning at dawn—he doesn't remember the exact date as it is difficult to write this after everything that happened—they took off from Guatemala in transport planes with the windows blacked out and landed that morning at 7:00 A. M. in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. He felt like vomiting. The American farce was bloody, merciless. Those people would stoop to anything to accomplish their objectives: first Ydígoras and now the Somoza brothers. His situation was extremely difficult. He had attacked Somoza and his sons during the years he worked as a journalist on the paper. And there he was, right in their lap. He immediately thought they would arrest him as soon as they found out who he was because of what he had written about those people. If a friend should happen to mention his name in

public, in the presence of a henchman from the National Guard, he would be finished. He avoided contact with everyone. He studied a way to get out of the place, but it was impossible. Everything was surrounded. It was worse than Guatemala. It was a rat trap. Being enthusiastic over the naval aspects of the operation from the very beginning, and since sailing was his sport. He managed to become a member of the crew on the Houston and to carry on his work as a newsman from there. That calmed him down somewhat because at least he would no longer be on Somoza territory. A former anti-"batistiano" that he knew, Luis Morse, was on board the Houston as skipper. He was able to get the prisoner on as a member of the crew. That was what he wanted. He had no military training nor had he even carried a pistol throughout the 15 days from the time of his arrival in Guatemala. They were in Nicaragua 6 days, more or less. He left the Houston only on very special occasions. The chances looked very bad and the cause was ridiculous. His principles were being betrayed by destiny. The prisoner continued saying that on the last day, Mr. Somoza walked around on the dock. The prisoner didn't come out of his stateroom.

The rest is already known. Full of regret, purposeless and with a blank mind, he sailed for four days. After arriving at Cochinos Bay under sealed orders from the Americans, the CIA, and Washington, they were bombed in the bay shortly after the 2nd Battalion still had to land off the gunwales in a number of little motor boats that were useless. Five air attacks were made on the Houston. When it was sinking, the prisoner jumped into the water along with many of his buddies about a miles of the coast. He knew how to swim well and he reached shore where he stripped off his clothes and shoes. He wandered around the swamp for eleven days without water, without weapons—which he never had—and without food. There were many hardships. After 11 days had gone by they searched for the militia in order to surrender. They had not done it before because they didn't know what the reaction would be, whether they were going to be killed or not. His companion, Manolo Pérez Salvador, a drugs salesman, and he, were surprised. They were nude. The rural militiamen who found them treated them like kings. They were given clothing and food. They were Cubans, Cubans just like the prisoner, and not Americans, or

Guatemalans, or Nicaraguans. The prisoners were thankful for the kindness of the Revolutionary Militia and Dr. Castro's government.

And he denounces the government in Washington for having invented an unprecedented farce, for having planned the mass murders of Cubans in a treacherous invasion in order to later justify, or to try to justify, an invasion by Yankee troops. In short, the prisoner believes that the U.S. Government planned all this to confuse the world, to justify a foreign aggression, without caring about the sacrifice of those who came to Cuba without a cause, only with the object of carrying out the U. S. Government's sinister aims. That was the reason why the mercenaries were sent to the Zapata Swamp, so there would be no retreat, so they would all be killed, after having made the invaders believe that the Cuban people would rise up against the Revolutionary Government. They wanted to put the Cuban people in a predicament and win converts for the OAS. He reiterates that he is willing to defend Cuba against any foreign aggression, wherever it may come from. At this moment in the face of the danger of a Yankee invasion, the prisoner places himself on the side of his country and against imperialism.

He suggests that his services as a journalist who has many good contacts throughout the hemisphere, be used on the various editorial staffs of newspaper as well as in the management of the principal daily's, so that he may tell the world about all this, about the farce, the sacrifice of the Cubans in Cuba and in exile, which was planned to satisfy the desires for conquest of the CIA, Washington, and of the President of the United States. He mentions that he could write for *Prensa* of Buenos Aires, *Imparcial* of Puerto Rico, *Prensa* of Costa Rica and *La Nación* of the same country, *Estado* of Sao Paulo, *Tiempo* of Bogotá, *Ultimas Noticias* in Mexico, for all newspapers in this hemisphere or in Europe, be they members of the Inter-American Press Society or not. This he would do as a Cuban journalist. He would use all his contacts in this work. He suggests a press conference be held in which he could answer all questions, and that visits be made to all the offices of these papers under Cuban sponsorship. He offers to do anything to save his country from an invasion or attack.

The list of these colleagues in the hemisphere can be easily obtained. There are many names that slip his mind, but those he remembers are Eduardo Santos, ex-President of Colombia and editor of *El Tiempo* in Bogotá, Castro Beeche, present President of the Inter-American Press Society and editor of *La República* in Costa Rica. There is also the U. S. press, not all of which is sold out and might be willing to publish information that is important and true. The prisoner believes that the world will definitely be socialist due to the historic process of society itself, but that he has fought against communism because of the influence of his culture and the environment in which he lived.

Having nothing more to declare, he signs this statement,

(signed) **Ulises Carbó Yániz,**
prisoner

After the statement signed by the mercenary Ulises Carbó Yániz was read at the trial and confirmed, the defendant was called upon by the Revolutionary Court to answer questions. They were transcribed verbatim as follows:

President—I understand that the defendant was authorized to travel to the United States after having been taken prisoner.

Defendant—Yes, sir.

President—Can you tell the court who authorized it, under what circumstances you went, and what the motives for your trip were?

D—Yes, sir, but before answering that, I would like to tell the President that I confirm that statement, especially the part referring to the guilt of the United States, and the participation of the United States in the training process at the base in Guatemala, and in the landing at Girón.

Evidently, I revealed many things about all this. Of course, I could not refer to the military organization of the brigade because I didn't know anything about it. What's more, I didn't even know the names of the leaders, the assistants, the officers, like some other fellows did. I scarcely had any contact with them, therefore, I did not mention them.

I said that what I considered interesting, important and fundamental in that statement, is the guilt of the United

States during the process of preparing the landing at Girón. In other words I maintain the same argument that Jorge Alonso Pujol put forth, that this didn't need to be pointed out, since the President of the United States himself accepted the responsibility for the attack on Playa Girón.

P—Did the defendant sign this statement?

D—Yes, I signed it.

P—Can you tell us about the trip then?

D—The trip. . . Do you want me to tell you about everything or just negotiations?

P—You can tell us about everything.

D—Well, our commission, made up of ten members of the brigade, made two trips there. The first time we were there a week, and the second time we were there a month and four or five days, more or less.

P—Who authorized it?

D—Dr. Fidel Castro. He was the one who proposed the negotiations for the tractors on May 17, 1961, in a speech at a meeting of the small farmers.

P—All right, you may proceed.

D—Once we arrived in the United States. . . We already had news here that a committee, the "Roosevelt" Committee, had been organized to collect money to cover the cost of the tractor indemnification.

After arriving, on the third or fourth day, we saw the agents for the "Roosevelt" Committee in Washington. That was practically the only important meeting —we were there a week and had to wait four or five days to see them, after which we returned to Miami and from there to Cuba.

They told us at that meeting not to worry, that everything was solved, that we could tell our buddies that things would be worked out.

We come back, but after that —possibly the court knows the story better than I do— I didn't read the papers as I was a prisoner in the Naval Hospital and ignored how the thing was going sour and how the "Roosevelt" Committee was finally disbanded and negotiations ended. Afterwards —about a month later —we were sent to Miami again by Dr. Fidel Castro. Then we encouraged the creation of a committee made up of the prisoners relatives, since the sup-

port that the Americans had offered us at first no longer existed. That relatives' committee, as you know even better than I do, put up an exemplary fight, trying everything humanly possible to collect that money. I don't know whether it was successful or not—I don't know if they've accomplished this or not—at least they've had enough time.

While we were there—the commission of 8 prisoners since two of them abandoned the group to remain in the U. S.—the 8 of us who came back here to share the same hardships, the same work, the same penalties, the same dangers as the rest of our buddies who were here... we stated that the Cuban Government had not backed out of the negotiations, that the arrangement was the same as had been proposed on the first day, that is, that they send the famous 500 V-8 tractors or small tractors or small tractors of an agricultural type equivalent to the total sum of the negotiation. We made that statement either the same day or the day before leaving for Havana on the last trip at the end of June.

And so we arrived here on June 30th, and since then we've lost track of the negotiations and we've only received incomplete news that our families have sent us. Therefore, here we are

P—Those negotiations that you went to the United States to carry out, were they a private matter of yours, or were they in the name of all the defendants?

D—We were sent there to solve the situation for the whole brigade.

P—You went in behalf of everyone...

D—Yes, yes.

P—Does the Prosecutor wish to ask the defendant any questions?

Prosecutor—No, Mr. President.

P—Does the Attorney for the Defense wish to question the defendant?

Attorney for the Defense—No, Mr. President.

P—The defendant may be seated.

Letter addressed to the United Nations'
Security Council by the mercenary

PEDRO DE ARMAS

*after his capture and which was read
and confirmed at the trial.*

Havana, April, 1961

President
of the Security Council.
United Nations, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

The undersigned wishes to submit the following for your consideration:

1) I am one of the men who took part in the invasion of the Republic of Cuba last April 17th. I am a Cuban citizen, 28 years of age.

2) We were trained in Guatemala on a farm that belonged to Roberto Alejos, 30 kilometers from Retalhuleu. Our instructors were citizens of the United States of America, several of them belonging to the Central Intelligence Agency, and the rest, members of that country's army.

3) After our training we were flown from the airport at Retalhuleu in C-54 planes to the airport in Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua. We were shipped from the airport in Puerto Cabezas to the railroad station in trucks belonging to the Nicaraguan army and from there we went by train to the ships. During the crossing to Cuba we were escorted by two U. S. Navy destroyers, one of which bore the number 507.

4) Everyone knows the result of the operation. We had been told that the people of Cuba did not support their government and that it remained in power through terror and repression. What we found here was an entire people armed

to defend what they loved most, the success and progress they had achieved with the assistance of the Revolutionary Government.

The people of Cuba completely support their government, and that is a truth that all of us who came on that unfortunate expedition recognize. We want the world to know that what the Cuban people desire, is to live in peace. They are not a warlike people. They are an armed people because there is no other choice, because they have to defend themselves from attacks from abroad, and that, too, the members of this invasion have verified. The people of Cuba want peace and nothing more.

May the whole world know who sent them to their death and caused destruction and death within the territory of our beloved country, by taking advantage of a group of unwary Cubans.

We have been treated with every consideration by the government and people of Cuba, and we only hope that the truth about this infamy will reach the world through that world organization and that it will serve as a brake to the military plans that threaten the noble and self-sacrificing Cuban people.

Yours very sincerely,
(signed) **Pedro de Armas**

The interrogation on television of the falangist priest

FERMIN ASLA POLO

who participated as a mercenary in the invasion, under the false name, Ismael de Lugo. This appearance was made before a panel of newsmen on April 25, 1961, a few days after the invasion was crushed. It was recorded on tape at the trial, and confirmed by the mercenary priest in every detail. In this testimony, the counterrevolutionary activity of the clergymen together with the Yankee imperialist's criminal plans for aggression against the people of Cuba, were clearly demonstrated.

Moderator—Your name please?

Prisoner—Father Ismael de Lugo.

M—What unit did you belong to?

P—To the General Staff of the Brigade.

M—Are you willing to answer a few questions for the newsmen in spite of your wounded arm?

P—Yes, Sir.

M—Compañero Massetti.

Journalist—Can you tell us how you joined the invasion army?

P—Well, the Democratic Revolutionary Front made a request for a priest who would give spiritual aid to the Catholic boys in the camp.

J—How did you join this invasion army?

P—I left Havana legally.

J—When?

P—In November.

J—In November of what year?

P—1960.

J—With what authorization from your superiors?

P—From my superior in Rome.

J—Your superiors in Rome authorized you to join an invasion army?

P—Well, they didn't authorize me to... What was the question?

J—I asked you if your ecclesiastical superiors in Rome authorized you to join a mercenary invasion army.

P—Not a mercenary invasion army, but rather to give aid to a number of Catholic boys.

J—Another priest was questioned right here yesterday. If I use the term "mercenary invasion army", it's because many prisoners said they received pay. Another spiritual advisor for these "boys", as you call these invaders, received payment for joining that army, and an army that fights for money is a mercenary army. So much for that.

Your superiors authorized you to join the mercenary invasion army that came to Cuba?

P—If you insist on saying "mercenary invasion army"... Yes, sir.

J—Well, let's get down to the problem: Your superiors gave you authorization to come to Cuba with these invaders?

P—Yes.

J—Who are those superiors in Rome?

P—Our General Superior.

J—The General Superior of what Order?

P—Capuchins.

J—The General Superior of the Capuchins authorized certain priests to come to Cuba in an invasion army. Is that it?

P—That is so.

J—What activities did you carry out in Cuba for the counterrevolution?

P—None.

J—None? Then why were you selected to join the invasion, to be the spiritual advisor of Calviño¹ and of the other men who came with you on this invasion?

¹ *Ramón Calviño Insúa, one of the most notorious criminals at the service of the Batista tyranny, who escaped revolutionary justice and was sheltered in the United States before enlisting in the mercenary invasion. (See pages 357 and 358).*

P—In the first place, Calviño went to the camp in March, and when I arrived, there were only 120 boys, all of them Catholic. Most of them belonged to the University Catholic Students Group.

J—And do you know the leaders of this invasion, those who have been involved in all the negotiations with the Government of the United States are —should we say, just to mention one of them— Tony Varona? Do you know Tony Varona?

P—Yes, sir.

J—Are you acquainted with the letters that Tony Varona and Ventura exchanged?

P—I am not.

J—Do you know who Ventura is?

P—Yes, sir.

J—Do you know that Ventura was a terrible torturer? That he was one of the cruelest murderers that Cuba ever had?

P—Yes, I know that.

J—And do you know that Ventura and Tony Varona were in agreement about the invasion?

P—I did not.

J—You didn't know it? And if you had known about it, what then?

P—I would not have approved it, but I would have continued with my spiritual work, which was my mission as long as there were Catholic boys who requested it.

J—And are there no Catholic boys in Cuba who are dying? Haven't Catholic militiamen died defending Cuba? Are you Cuban?

P—No.

J—Well, many Catholic boys, many Catholic militiamen and men of the Rebel Army, many Catholic workers have been killed by those Catholics whom you speak of. Did you that?

P—We agreed on that, but a priest has to go where he is called and where he must carry out his mission.

J—Then you took part in this mission, in this invasion against Cuba, only because you were called, because your superior authorized it?

P—I did it for purely spiritual reasons, and I would have done the same anywhere.

J—I am not asking if it was a spiritual matter, I am asking if you did it only carry out an order from your ecclesiastical superiors in Rome.

P—We must carry out all orders. When we are ordered to go somewhere, as for instance the time they sent me to...

J—Excuse me, I wanted you to be specific. I know that priests have to go where their ecclesiastical superiors in Rome send them.

P—When the Revolutionary Democratic Front asked for priests through contacts here in Havana, the superiors said that I was willing. The ones here can not give that authorization.

J—Did the Capuchin superiors here know that an invasion of Cuba was being plotted?

P—They knew that certain camps existed, just as everyone in Cuba knew. Authorization could not be given from here because it was for a voluntary mission, and if there is no superior force behind it, we can not go, because it is required that we ask permission from our ecclesiastical hierarchy. Not from the bishopric, but from the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Order. That is, if I were allowed to go, I would do so. So I went to the camps to carry out this spiritual work.

J—You mean the ecclesiastical authorities here in Cuba knew about it and the ecclesiastical authorities of your order in Rome authorized you to join the invasion army. Is that right?

P—But on that mission, not as an invader.

J—Not as an invader? Then how do you think you came?

P—Giving religious aid, just as a doctor goes where he is called.

J—You think so?

P—It's the same thing... When the Rebel Army was in the Sierra Maestra the Rebel soldiers also asked for the aid of a Catholic priest and there were also Catholic priests in the Sierra.

J—Do you think that those contacts that asked permission from your superiors to have you sent to join this invasion army had nothing to do with the sabotage which was carried out in Cuba and in which dozens of people were killed?

P—I don't know.

J—Didn't you know that sabotage was committed in which dozens of people in Cuba were killed, in which hundreds were injured, and that this sabotage was organized by the same groups that asked you for spiritual aid?

P—I wish you would understand the mission of a priest, particularly mine. I was in Cuba for 5 years before going to the camps. The records in the Church that I served, the Church of Our Savior in Marianao, show that I have neither engaged in revolutionary nor counterrevolutionary activities. I believe that it is not the mission of a priest to become involved in revolution or counterrevolution, but rather to carry out his ministry.

J—Then you believe that it is not the mission of priests to become involved in revolution or counterrevolution? Do you agree to that?

P—At least that is my personal opinion.

J—That is your opinion?

P—I respect the opinion of others, but I would like my opinions to be respected also.

J—Do you believe that the uniform you are wearing is the uniform of the Chapin?

P—You know that in the British, French, Italian, Spanish, and American armies the Chappin wear the same uniform as the troops.

J—With what insignia?

P—With a gold cross which we did not wear because it serves as a good target from the planes. Instead of wearing that cross to distinguish us from the troops and to give aid to the wounded, we only carried a crucifix for the faithful to kiss.

J—Well, I don't think that devotion or religion can be measured by the size of the crucifix, do you?

P—Well, you asked me why I didn't wear any insignia on my uniform that would show I was a Chaplain, and I

said that we all wear a cross and nothing else.

J—How did you land in Cuba?

P—At Playa Girón.

J—But how?

P—By boat.

J—And how were you armed?

P—I didn't carry weapons at the camp, nor did I carry them here.

J—Were you ever taught to handle weapons?

P—No, sir.

J—Who were the instructors of the camps?

P—The instructors There were two kinds of instructors.

J—How's that?

P—There were two kinds of instructors: some were American, Ukrainian, and from those countries; and later there were Cubans instructors who were the ones who directly headed the instruction of the forces.

J—Do you believe that it is Christian-like to threaten the lives of a people such as was done here against the Cuban people? Do you think that it is your duty to give assistance, let's not speak of spiritual aid, but rather the aid that a priest gives, as is done in the name of priests, to attack Cuba? Do you believe that it is lawful to use your priesthood, not for a spiritual mission, not to attend the wounded or the dying, but to take part directly in a conspiracy and later to come in an invasion in which many have been killed or were wounded through sabotage, an invasion that caused many, many victims? Do you believe that Catholicism is against the Agrarian Reform or the distribution of the land? Do you believe that Catholicism is against racial equality?

P—We are all agreed that it was not; but I must insist again that my mission was not ideological or political. It was purely spiritual, and therefore I had to be where those boys needed me, just as if others needed me. There at Playa Girón I buried a militiaman and attended 2 or 3

wounded who were on the beach, because our mission was not meant for any particular race, but rather it was to give the spiritual and material aid of a priest to all who need it.

J—Do you believe that after having taken part as you did in the invasion, your soul has been cleansed by burying a militiaman you helped to kill?

P—I didn't help kill him. I didn't kill anyone, because I have not handled a weapon either before or after the invasion.

J—But you collaborated with the people who came to kill.

P—I collaborated spiritually.

J—Just the same, you collaborated with them.

P—I collaborated spiritually

J—You have been involved in a conspiracy against a country; yes or no?

P—If you look at it that way, yes.

J—No, no, not in that sense. Look, I'm asking you if you have been involved in a conspiracy against a country, against a people.

P—Now, by being involved in a conspiracy doesn't mean that I was a conspirator, because if they send me on a mission to a prison where there are only criminals and murderers, the fact of my being in that prison doesn't mean that I am a criminal or that I have criminal ideas.

J—That comparison you make with the prison of criminals and murderers, does not mean then that all those who were with you were criminals and murderers?

P—No, I mean that at times one has to go to prisons, to hospitals, to visit lepers, the poor, the rich; wherever there is a person of my own faith, who needs my spiritual assistance, I must give it to him.

J—You said that it was not the role of a priest to become involved in revolution or counterrevolution. That was your opinion. Now you admit that you were in a conspiracy?

P—Conspiracy, no. I was giving aid to some individuals who were Catholics and who were conspirators.

J.—They were conspirators who came to kill other fellow Catholics, in a surprise attack and with U. S. aid.

P.—But that was our mission.

J.—What a mission!

P.—A mission that was carried out to help those who needed our aid and not because we think like those people.

J.—Didn't you think like the counterrevolutionaries?

P.—In the first place, unfortunately, I am not a Cuban; and Cuba's affairs are affairs that must be solved among Cubans. And being among Cubans, I only have to carry out my mission as a priest; one Catholic, 20, 30, 500, a thousand, as many as ask my help. Just like a doctor who is asked to help a wounded or sick man.

J.—Could you answer one question for me? If a Catholic or a group of Catholics are planning a murder and they ask for your spiritual aid in case someone is wounded while carrying out the murder, would you conspire with them, prepare for that murder, or is it your duty to try to prevent that murder, to avoid that murder?

P.—A priest, just like a doctor, ought to try to stop the murder and to avoid the murder if he can. But when these men have murdered, the priest or the doctor has a duty, one just as much as the other, to alleviate spiritually or physically...

J.—What did you do to avoid these deaths?

P.—What did I do?

J.—Yes, what did you do to avoid these deaths? What did you do to prevent having to give Extreme Unction to so many people?

P.—I couldn't do anything, they came as volunteers.

J.—Thank you, that is all.

M.—You have lived in Cuba for 5 years?

P.—Yes, sir.

M.—Are you acquainted with the laws of Cuba?

P.—I don't know...

M.—Does being a priest excuse you from obeying the laws of the country in which you live?

P.—No, sir.

M—Did you know there was a conspiracy going on for an invasion of Cuba when you left this country?

P—That is...

M—Did you know it or not? Please answer.

P—When?

M—When you left Cuba, did you know there was a movement, a conspiracy to invade Cuba?

P—Yes, I knew it.

M—When you asked permission from your Superiors in Rome to join that movement, you knew that there was such a movement; that it did exist?

P—I knew there were some boys who wanted.

M—Exactly. What kind of a crime is that, Father?

P—...

M—A crime of conspiracy to cause the outbreak of a rebellion. It is the duty of all citizens to denounce that plot to the authorities. Did you do so?

P—No.

M—You didn't denounce it? That will do. Compañero Franqui.

J—First, I would like to ask you about your wound. What type of a wound is it?

P—With the moderator's permission and in answer to his question as to whether or not I denounced it, I believe—and I beg the moderator's pardon for not answering his question before—I would like to say that I didn't denounce it because it was an open secret, and I don't think that a denunciation on my part would have solved the problem nor would it have stopped this conspiracy from being carried out.

And now, as you have been so kind as to ask about my wound... well, when I was at Playa Girón, a jet plane attacked the base where the infirmary was located, and one of the men was wounded by a .50 calibre shell. When he asked me for aid, as he didn't want to die without the Last Sacraments, I crossed the small square near the pool at Playa Girón, and a jet attacked again. A rocket exploded nearby and I was wounded in the arm by shrapnel.

J—Is it a serious wound or a slight one?

P—Not too serious.

J—Now, I would like to ask you the following: You said that you are not a Cuban

P—No.

J—Are you Spanish?

P—Yes, Spanish.

J—Did you take part in the Spanish Civil War?

P—Yes, I was 18 years old at the time.

J—What rank did you hold in the Spanish army at that time?

P—I was a temporary 2nd Lieut.

J—In Franco's army?

P—Yes, but temporarily.

J—What do you mean by that?

P—I didn't belong to the army, perhaps just as the officers in the militia here are not members of the regular army.

J—You were an officer and you belonged...

P—I mean that the rank was not a regular army rank, but rather a rank given in the course of operations, to those who more or less had qualifications for leadership...

J—Then why were you given that grade?

P—Well, because I was fighting there with them.

J—You were fighting on the side of the Franco regime. Did you consider, do you consider now, that the Franco regime is a Christian regime?

P—I don't concern myself with these matters either. You asked me if I fought. And when I tell you that 27 persons in my family were killed, you will understand. If they kill 27 people in one's family I think one must fight.

J—Possibly... You say that 27 were killed, but you know very well that it was Franco, Nazism, and Hitlerism that brought war to the Spanish Republic. These were to blame for that slaughter, because the Spanish people were living, they had held elections, and in spite of that you joined that army. Were you still a priest?

P—No, I was an 18 year old boy then.

J—But you received a certain amount of military instruction there?

P—Well, the instruction that one receives more or less while fighting.

J—And now you came on this invasion. I want to ask you something. Did you see the women and children killed by shells from U.S. planes in the Zapata Swamp?

P—Well, to tell the truth, and as a priest I cannot lie, I did not see any dead at Playa Girón.

J—Then you believe that the civilian population that was there and bombed...

P—What I mean is that you should ask the civilian population that was bombed whether they were strafed...

J—Look, I'm going to show you something. Were these children given spiritual aid by some priest or were they killed by U. S. planes?

P—Where, please?

J—At Playa Girón...

Now, I want to ask you something. Since you did not see any women or children or farmers killed the bombs, I would like to ask you whether you saw what the Revolution has done there?

P—It is really marvelous.

J—Why is it marvelous?

P—Well, you can see that a whole town has been built in that inhospitable place. They have done something...

J—And do you believe that your spiritual companions in the invasion did, was wonderful, or was it the work of destruction?

P—You always put me in a...

J—No, I was talking about an unfortunate thing... I didn't want to... because I wish there hadn't been so many thousands of...

P—It seems that you want to blame me for the invasion and all those things. I must insist that my mission was purely spiritual and I didn't handle any weapon either before or after the invasion. Ask the members of the brigade or the people of Playa Girón if the priest who went to visit those families who were frightened, to take them food or to look after them was seen carrying a pistol, or a rifle, or a carbine, or any other weapon. I would be the first to regret these incidents, but my mission was to... I hate war.

J—All right, let's leave it at that. Where did you enlist?

P—In Miami.

J—Where did you go from there?

P—To Guatemala.

J—Did you know where you were going?

P—I knew what they told me, that I was going to give spiritual aid to the Catholic boys in the camp.

J—And don't you think it would have been more humane, more Christian like to preserve life rather than destroy it? Which do you think would have been more Christian-like?

P—Of course it is more Christian-like to preserve life.

J—Wouldn't it have been the duty of a priest like you to denounce the preparation of an expedition against a people that would result in the death of many people?

P—But I said before that that was already...

J—No, I'm speaking of your responsibility, your spiritual responsibility. But all right, aside from that, you mentioned your spiritual collaboration a while ago, didn't you? You said your collaboration in the invasion was spiritual, is that not right?

P—I gave spiritual aid to the Catholic boys who came on the invasion.

J—Those boys were Calviño, the notorious killer; a bunch of members of the Batista dictatorship who had killed our people; a bunch of millionaires who starved the farmers in the Zapata Swamp; a bunch of politicians who plunged this country into misery for many years. You mean, you gave spiritual aid to all these people and not to the Cuban people...

P—Well, I told you that I did before for five years.

J—Here's the last question I'm going to ask you. Do you think the deaths brought on at Playa Girón were right or wrong?

P—What deaths?

J—Oh, wasn't anyone killed there? I mean all of them, civilian and military.

P—At Playa Girón?

J—Yes.

P—As far as I'm concerned, I only saw one dead person.

J—Only one dead person? Then you were very badly informed. Among our *compañeros* alone, there were...

P—At Playa Girón...

J—At Playa Girón, Playa Larga, and in that whole area.

P—I'm not speaking of Playa Larga and the other places. I'm only speaking of that tourist town at Playa Girón. There I saw only one dead boy.

J—But aside from Playa Girón, there is Playa Larga and other parts of the Zapata Swamp where this operation took place.

P—I am telling you that I saw.

J—All right, the death that you saw, was that something good or bad?

P—That death occurred during the landing.

J—But was that good or bad?

P—I deeply regret it; I wish it hadn't happened.

J—You believe in God, don't you?

P—(He nods his head affirmatively).

J—You believe in the Last Judgement, don't you?

P—Yes. I believe in the Last Judgement.

J—What do you think will happen when you have to answer for your spiritual collaboration in these crimes?

P—I believe my conscience is clear.

M—*Compañero* Carlos Rafael.

J—Are you feeling bad? Do you want to continue answering questions?

P—I can continue. It's just that my arm is a little painful.

J—My question will be very brief. You knew the horrors of a civil war. You knew those horrors in your youth. You are no longer a young man and you are a priest. Didn't you think it was your spiritual duty to avoid another civil war?

P—I don't believe I had the morale and much less the physical strength to avoid a civil war, because it was an issue among Cubans.

J—Did you do anything to avoid it?

P—I did everything I could to avoid it.

J—Did you talk to the boys to convince them not to come?

P—I advised the boys not to come. One of the things I told the American advisers was that they were completely wrong in thinking that Dr. Fidel Castro did not have the people on his side.

J—Then you condemn the attack against Cuba?

P—I condemn war.

J—Do you condemn the attack against Cuba?

P—And the direct attack.

J—Do you condemn this aggression?

P—Yes, I condemn it.

J—You condemn it?

P—As I condemn any armed aggression.

J—But this aggression, do you condemn it?

P—I condemn it too.

J—Do you think our people did the right thing in defending themselves against this aggression?

P—They did what I believe any people should do: They defended themselves, just as any man should defend himself against whoever attacks him.

J—That is all.

M—The prisoner may retire.

Testimony of the mercenary

PABLO ORGANVIDES PARADA

confessed agent of the Central Intelligence Agency, who was assigned to the mercenary invasion. This testimony was broadcast over national radio and television a few days after the defeated invasion and recorded on magnetic tape during the trial. In this testimony, Organvides, mercenary and CIA agent, reported important details concerning the direct participation of the intelligence services of the Yankee imperialists in the preparation and carrying out of the mercenary invasion.

Moderator—Your name, please?

Prisoner—Pablo Organvides.

M—What unit did you belong to?

P—Intelligence Service.

M—Intelligence Service, Compañero Franqui.

Journalist—Prisoner, tell me what you know of the facts... Tell me what you know of the facts.

P—Well, Franqui, I wish you'd explain what aspect?

J—For example, how did you enlist, how did you participate with them, where?

P—Well, in 1955 I was living in the United States of America, and as many people know, including those in the United States. I have known Dr. Fidel Castro since 1953 when I was arrested with him at the Moncada Army Post. Somehow or other, this was known to the Immigration Department of the United States of America. In that same year, 1955, during the Batista regime, I asked for political asylum in the city of Miami... No, I'm wrong, in 1956... after that, in January or February of 1959 to be exact, about a month after the triumph of the Revolution, I was called to the U. S. Department of Immigration and Naturalization by an investigator whose name is Mr. Everfield.

J.—An investigator for the FBI or...?

P.—Well, this man belonged to the Central Intelligence Service, but he was working in the Immigration and Naturalization Department. This individual told me that my collaboration was needed in regard to individuals whom I knew might have communist tendencies, since the regime here was completely communist.

Then, in April I think it was, after Dr. Fidel Castro's visit to New York, I was called by Mr. Francis Bryan, who was Assistant Director of the FBI in the city of New York, and he told me that I had only two alternatives. I'm telling you the truth about this, no one forced me to make this statement. It is completely voluntary, no one has forced me to make it, and everything I am saying is true.

J.—No one is forcing anyone here, each one can say what he likes.

P.—Thank you. This gentleman told me what my situation in this country was, since I had political asylum from the previous regime, that the Batista government had fallen and I had to return to Cuba or (at least) leave the United States. When I turned over the passport with which I entered the United States to ask for political asylum, it was given to the Department of Immigration —When my lawyer.— I honestly can't remember his exact name now, it was an Irish last name,— filed a claim with the Immigration Department, they told him that my passport had been sent, and that it wasn't their fault the passport hadn't reached me.

Therefore, my situation was either come to Cuba or go to some other country. Then I went to see Dra. Girona in the New York consulate and I applied for a passport, and obviously that passport was only good to come to Cuba.

I am being completely honest. Since I met Dr. Castro he has always been kind to me. I can't deny that before the Revolution, some years ago, there was a little friction between us... let's see, how can I explain it, a misunderstanding in a matter.

J.—You were not arrested for revolutionary activities there? [Moncada].

P.—No, sir. I had a bad... a personal problem with him, a minor personal problem, and for that reason I didn't

want the government to give me the means to come to Cuba. Then they told me to become a member...

J—Would you like a little water?

P—Yes, sir...

(He is brought water)

J—We were talking about an interview with the Assistant Director of the FBI in New York.

P—Yes, sir. Then they told me I would have to collaborate with them or they would... well they'd deport me. Then, under —should we say— pressure, they made me join the tourist department of the FBI which is on 3rd Avenue and 68th Street. The work done there was to check on Cubans whom they thought had Communist tendencies and to investigate all individuals who might belong to the 26th of July Movement. Any other questions, Mr. Franqui?

J—And then you yourself, after joining the FBI in the work of checking on Cubans who were in favor of the Cuban Revolution...

P—Well, not all Cubans were investigated, only the leaders that they thought might...

J—The leaders?

P—Yes.

J—After that, what was the next step?

P—Well, in the second step, in the area of the political problem between the United States and Cuba, other types of work were done. Other means of investigating were used. For example, they checked on Cubana Airline pilots who were making trips to Miami, and they tried every way to contact them in the hotel where they stayed, a hotel on 8th Avenue in New York where they had four rooms. The authorities tapped their phones to hear their conversations, and tailed the pilots to see where they were going.

J—Did you have any interviews with top officials of the FBI or CIA?

P—On several occasions.

J—Can you tell us about some of these interviews?

P—Well, Mr. Franqui, there were so many that I honestly don't know if I...

J—Only the most interesting ones. The ones that dealt with this expedition.

P—The recent ones? Those dealing with the expedition? Well, the last time I had a chance to talk with... to meet **Mr. Gorman**, who is one of **Mr. Dulles**, assistants.

J—Allan Dulles?

P—Yes, sir. About 17 days ago, I went to the Post Office building, in Washington where the FBI has its office on the 5th. floor. Then I talked to **Mr. Gorman** and received final instructions.

J—And what were the instructions?

P—Well, final instructions had already been given by the assistant to the chief instructors of operations in Guatemala, whose name was **William Freeman**—you know him by the name of **Katt**. Some call him **Katt**, others call him **Frank**. But that's a false name. His real name is **William Freeman**.

J—And he was the chief instructors of the ..?

P—Assistant chief instructor of the brigades that were in Guatemala.

J—And the chief instructor?

P—The chief was a man of Irish descent. A **Mr. McQuaring**, I believe.

J—Was he also a member of the Central Intelligence Agency?

P—He belongs to the United States Army, if I remember correctly. I was sick during those days, I didn't feel well. His correct name was **William McQuaring**, but I'm not so sure, his first name is **William**. I think so.

J—What other North American pilots and officers took part in this whole movement?

P—Well, pilot instructors from the United States; naval officers from the United States; military instructors, and the whole Intelligence Service Department.

J—Do you remember the names of any of them?

P—From the Intelligence Service? Yes indeed, sir.

J—And of any of the pilots?

P—Well, the one I had the most contact with, the one who was giving instructions to **Mr. Pupo**, head of the B-26

pilots, was a man whose last name was **Massetti**, of Italian descent.

J—(Massetti)—Please make it clear that I am not that Massetti.

P—Of course, excuse me.

M—Continue.

P—His name was **Massetti**, **Alberto Massetti**, or **Albert**. In English, it's **Albert Massetti**. He's a B-26 instructor, a veteran of the Second World War. I talked to him and to a Mr. Alberto Massetti who was a captain in the Cuban Navy. I talked to him on several occasions in Washington before he left for Retalhuleu Base in Guatemala, because in my profession—I am a radio mechanic, but recently I became a commercial pilot, which was my last job.

J—What North American planes and equipment did you see there?

P—In Retalhuleu? Well, there were B-26's and C-54's, which are the same as DC-4's. The military version is a C-54.

J—And what else did you do there in Retalhuleu? What more can you tell us? Who visited Retalhuleu?

P—You mean Americans?

J—Americans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans.

P—Well, to be honest with you, Franqui, I was only in Guatemala for 10 days, because I was working on other activities in the United States. I was in Nicaragua several times, then I spent 9 or 10 consecutive days in Guatemala. I would say, hardly 10 days.

J—Did the FBI or the CIA give you any special instructions in case the landing failed?

P—Well, I was not supposed to take part in the landing. The orders I had were to stay at the base in Puerto Cabezas where the Americans had established a military base for B-26's, but for certain reason which I am glad of now, in spite of being a prisoner and not knowing what my fate may be, I do not regret being in Cuba. In a way, I'm glad. I didn't want to stay at the base in Puerto Cabezas.

Yes, there was a special order; the order was that if everything should fail, we were under no circumstances to remain here, to be taken alive, those of us who belonged

to the Intelligence Department. We were all to leave. We had a boat. You know that's so, and Dr. Castro knows it too. In the last... the last battle took place in Puerto Girón, didn't it? You could see there were two American destroyers near the coast when the ships were leaving. What happened was that one of your T-33's sank the barges and the invaders couldn't reach the destroyer.

J—And how many officers, pilots, and members of the FBI came with you?

P—All right, I'm going to be very honest with you. Only one American came—one who spoke Spanish very well—and the rest played it safe and stayed in Retalhuleu, because from what I can see now, *compañero* Franqui, by analyzing things and recalling other conversations that I had with them in Washington, which I'm going to explain to you, I have come to the definite conclusion that they were sure this was going to be a failure. It's my opinion that they had another purpose behind what they did, a purpose I know too, and I am going... when you give me the opportunity, I'm going to tell you what it is, because to be honest, I have nothing to hide.

J—Yes, of course, go right ahead.

P—I'm going to be honest no matter what my fate may be. My destiny is not important, because I am a man and I am completely determined to accept what may come. I am going to do so, because I have seen the tremendous lie that has been put into our minds, the poison that has been put into our minds, the poison that has been injected into the minds of many people, and that's why I'm going to tell the truth. I am completely convinced they knew this was going to be a failure. According to them, all the Militia and the Rebel Army, who were against Dr. Fidel Castro because they were going hungry, were going to come over to our side when the landing took place. They also said that the Air Force had been completely destroyed; I guess they did try to destroy it, didn't they, and then they planned to establish a beachhead as a base for a constant war of attrition.

J.—But please note that it was logical from a military point of view. I mean, with the equipment you brought,

the quantity of heavy weapons, the artillery, the air coverage, the tanks and considering the particular location of the Zapata swamp after a raid, intended to destroy our air force, it was credible and logical from a military point of view to expect a beachhead to be established.

P—Well from a military point of view it was completely strategic, but only if these events had turned out the way they said they were going to turn out. But things turned out just the opposite.

J—Well, that was because of the part we played, and not because of them.

P—Of course.

J—Would you please go on with your story?

P—The last conversation I had with **Mr. Freeman, Mr. Gorman, and Mr. O'Brien**, about 17 or 18 days ago, perhaps before, because I cannot honestly remember the exact date after having spent so many days in the woods, the last thing they told me when I said that I had to protect my wife who was in the United States and that I didn't know what my fate would be, was: "In the first place you don't have to land. In the second place the attack on Cuba cannot under any circumstances fail." Then I asked them: "What reason do you have for telling me that the attack on Cuba cannot fail under any circumstances?" Then the man I told you about, who is the secretary to **Mr. Allan Dulles**, one of the assistants to **Mr. Allan Dulles'** aides, said to me: "If the problem of Cuba is not solved by this invasion, then even if the Organization of American States doesn't want to do anything about it, we'll intervene directly under any circumstances."

J—Well, if they come we'll be here ready to resist.

P—Well, Mr. Franqui, I don't know. That's what I explained to Dr. Fidel Castro and to Osmani Cienfuegos, with whom I had the pleasure of speaking last night.

One of Mr. Dulles' assistants in Washington, D. C. told me that it couldn't fail because Cuba was only 90 miles from American territory, and that they were sure rocket bases had been set up here or were going to be set up, and that this would endanger the United States. He said they had no faith in the rest of the countries of America such as Mexico and Uruguay, those countries that were mobilizing their forces in favor of the people. He said they

didn't believe in any of that. He said that the Russians threatening with their rockets was just a Communist bluff, because the Communists only know how to talk but they never do anything, and therefore I could be sure that if this invasion failed, in less than 15 days they would intervene directly in Cuba.

They told all this to me and to other men who were present.

J—That's what they told you?

P—Yes, sir.

J—And what political objectives do you believe they had? In other words, what type of government would they have established in Cuba if this invasion had been successful? Did they talk about that?

P—Well, they said they were going to re-establish the Constitution of 1940 and hold elections within 18 months.

J—That's what they told you?

P—Yes.

J—And in order to do that, they intended to bring all the latifundists, all the landowners, all the men from the Batista tyranny, etc? With those people they were going to re-establish the Constitution of 1940?

P—Oh, and another thing, another detail that I noticed and I was going to tell you about, was in regard to the problem of the B-26 planes. The first bombings, the first air raids came from Puerto Cabezas...

J—In Nicaragua?

P—Yes, sir. But the other air raids came from Oppalocka, Florida, and from another base in Marathon, which I believe belongs to the U. S. Navy. This had been planned before hand and even when I spoke to Mr. Massetti, the pilot instructor had told me the last day I saw him that he was to be transferred... he was transferred to Oppalocka two or there days before the expedition, since air raids could be carried out more effectively from there.

J—You mean from U. S. territory?

P—Yes, sir, undoubtedly.

J—With U. S. planes and U. S. ships?

P—Yes.

J—And what other interesting details can you remember?

P—Please ask me what you want to know directly, because there are so many details and I've been a part of these problems for so long that . .

J—What part did the Navy play in all this?

P—Well, it went into effective action from the very moment we left Puerto Cabezas.

J—Do you remember what units were active?

P—Yes, I remember. One was the 20th, another one was the 71th. Those are the ones I saw.

J—What type of units were they?

P—Destroyers.

J—How were they equipped?

P—Full war equipment. I was on the first ship, the **Houston**, and at night on two or three occasions a helicopter would land on the proucer of the ship.

J—And the tanks, in what type of ship did they come?

P—Well, I'm going to be very honest. I knew there Sherman tanks because of conversations I heard, but not because I had anything to do with them. We had nothing to do with the tanks.

J—You also said something very interesting: That in the event of the invasion's failure you and all the members of the Central Intelligence Agency who were in the invasion had received orders not to let yourselves be taken alive.

P—Yes, sir, we were supposed to shoot ourselves, because according to them, you were all murderers and would. . . I mean, they made the G-2 look worse than the apparatus that existed during the times of Ventura and Carratalá. They told us that anyone was arrested, his finger nails were pulled out and he was beaten up. When I arrived yesterday I thought I was dreaming because of the way they treated me when I was taken prisoner. I thought it was a dream, that it could not be true.

J—They thought that our authorities were going to be like the American police?

P—Well, they were the ones who told us all this.

J—Yes, but they were reflecting what they learned from their own experience in the U. S. police.

P—On one occasion they even gave us a small potassium cyanide capsule, a very small capsule which we carried in our pockets and were supposed to chew, before being arrested.

J—And you think that a group had landed... did you mention that a group had landed?

P—Only one of those who came was able to escape. He fled with a pilot whose last name is Farias. There was an accident, one of your planes, a Sea Fury, strafed a B-26. Then, at the base, the one at Playa Girón, one of the invaders' supply planes tried to land. If I remember correctly, although I'm not quite sure, the pilot's name was Cirilo Piedra and the co-pilot was Farias, formerly of the Rebel Forces. He succeeded in escaping with a light wound in the foot. This man landed there the last day, Tuesday, a week ago, in a C-46 protected by a ceiling of Sabres. When that plane landed, Farias left and the American, the only American there, also left.

J—Could you tell us what you know about the relationship between Miró Cardona, Varona or any of those people and the Central Intelligence Agency?

P—To be honest, Mr. Tony Varona...

J—No, I want to know what you heard the instructors saying.

P—Well, these men never... Honestly, I only spoke with them two or three times. The one I used to talk with was Manuel Artigas. But I never talked to Mr. Tony Varona.

J—I don't mean with you. I mean did they meet with the FBI, with the Central Intelligence...?

P—Oh yes, constantly.

J—But what type of conversations did they carry on?

P—Well, they received orders from the Central Intelligence Agency about what they should do, where they should go, the matter of funds and the military equipment.

J—And did they received all of this?

P—Yes, everything.

J—Do you believe that this operation was directed and organized by the Central Intelligence Agency?

P—Well, I don't believe there is the slightest doubt that this was organized by the Central Intelligence Service. I know all of the facts, and I don't think there is any doubt about it.

J—Did you know that in the United States they are now starting to argue over who is responsible for the failure?

P—Yes, I read in the papers today —the rebel soldiers let us see the papers and I was able to read something about it.

J—The time has come when even Mr. Kennedy has had to accept the responsibility. Of course, the greater part of the responsibility falls on him.

P—Well, at first he denied responsibility but now he admits it. Is that right?

J—Was he mainly responsible for this?

P—The only thing I wish is . . as they said they were going to attack within 10 days after the action had taken place, whether the invasion turned out to be a success or a failure... am I right?... they said that if it should fail within 10 days they planned to intervene directly. I would regret it very much if they did this, because in all sincerity I have seen how the Cubans are living, the system of life they now have, and it would be a terrible thing to take more lives, because I am almost sure from what I have been able to judge of the militia and the rebel soldiers that none of them would allow themselves to be taken alive, that all of them would die fighting. I am completely convinced of that.

J—Look, if they do what you told us they would do, and that is a possibility which Dr. Fidel Castro discussed quite clearly two days ago on television, they are going to make a very big mistake.

P—I think so.

J—That mistake would mean the definite end of imperialism, because it is then, that they will understand. Actually, they know this only too well. That is why they have not dared. But if they forget it, they'll meet with two obstacles: first, the resistance of our people, which you have

witnessed; the aid and participation of all the peoples of the world, and of Latin America; and then there are those rockets that are going to fall right on their heads.

P—Well, Mr. Franqui, in regard to the rockets they say there won't be any, because —this is their reasoning which may be wrong; because there's a saying that goes like this: "he who striked first, strikes twice"—but they say that if the Russians fire a rocket they'll fire 20, and that, they can't do. That's what they say . .

J—They know very well that the Soviet rockets are much more efficient than theirs, and they know it for many reasons. Just to mention one of them, you know that they haven't been able to reach outer space yet.

P—That's true.

M—The prisoner may retire.

Statement of the mercenary

JORGE ALONSO PUJOL BERMUDEZ

written on the days following his capture and confirmed during the trial, in which he reveals the direct participation of Yankee imperialism in the preparation, training, and landing of the mercenary invaders.

Name: Jorge Alonso Pujol Bermúdez.

Age: 38.

Son of: Guillermo and Isabel.

Marital Status: Married.

Wife's name: Sylvia Gener Núñez.

Native of: Havana.

Occupation: Insurance Broker. He had an insurance agency in the Odontological Building (Room 1020).

Education: Finished third year of law school.

Address in Cuba: 511 8th Street between 5th and 7th Streets, Miramar.

Address in the United States: 1100 Brickle Avenue, Miami, Florida.

Serial number: 3487.

Statement made by the Invader: He left Cuba in July, 1960, to go to the U. S. on a tourist visa to visit his father, who had suffered a heart attack, and then took up residence there. At the end of February he enrolled in the office of the Democratic Revolutionary Front in the presence of a man by the name of Daria. A few days later he was called to this office. Three or four days after that he was called again and taken to an office known as "General Headquarters" where he met Daria, as well as ex-Colonel Oscar Díaz and other persons whom he did not know. From there

they put him on a truck and took him to an airport, possibly Opalocka, where he remained for two or three hours.

They again put him on the truck and drove him to the end of the runway, where a plane, presumably a military one, was waiting. The plane seemed to be a C-54. He was not able to observe any markings that would identify it. They landed in the Airport of Retalhuleu in Guatemala and then went to Trax Base. Originally they assigned him to Battalion Nº 3 under the command of a man named Lucio in a company under the command of Pedro Arozarena (who is among the prisoners). He does not remember the number of the company. He received training with a .45 pistol, an M-1 carbine, a Garand, and an M-3. The instructors were American, Philippine and Korean (at least they had Asiatic features). From Trax Base they took him to Garrapatenango where he was trained for attacks, retreats and mountain warfare, etc. Because of a physical defect in his feet he was transferred to the medical corps.

They returned to Trax Base where he was assigned to the quartermaster of the ship, the **Houston**. He left for Retalhuleu a week earlier together with a group of quartermasters and other men from the ships (stevedores, etc). There they took a plane to Nicaragua, landed, and were taken in trucks and by train to Puerto Cabezas. There they slept on the **Atlantic**, from which they were transferred to the **Houston**, remaining there 5 or 6 days until the personnel of that ship arrived. The personnel (Battalion 2 and Battalion 5), part of the General Staff of the Brigade, which included Oliva and Juan Santamarina, assistant to the Brigade and ex-Major in the dictator Batista's army, arrived. During the crossing he sighted a destroyer, presumably escorting the **Houston**. He was in charge of loading the ship (or rather, unloading the ship) which was sunk during the operation. When the ship began to sink, the prisoner abandoned it and swam to the beach. Once on the beach, he met others (almost all of them from the 5th Battalion) and remained inactive for 2 days within the swamp near the ship; later he was with a group of invaders who scattered throughout the interior of the swamp. They walked for 2 or 3 days searching for water and were lost until a patrol under the command of Major Luzon took them prisoner.

Conclusions: The program of the Democratic Revolution-

ary Front called for the re-establishment of the 1940 Constitution and elections within 18 months.

The prisoner thinks that the invaders, or rather the leaders of the invasion, deceived him and states that he tried to escape from the training camp.

He is willing to write to persons or foreign organizations telling them about the kind treatment he has received from the Revolutionary Government.

(signed) **J. Alonso Pujol.**

After the statement signed by the mercenary, Jorge Alonso Pujol Bermúdez, was read at the trial, he was called to appear before the Revolutionary Court to either confirm or deny its contents. He was questioned as follows:

President—What does the defendant have to say about this statement?

Defendant (Jorge Alonso Pujol)—Mr. President and Mr. Prosecutor, I fully confirm the statement that I made at the Sports Palace.

Furthermore, with the permission of the President, I would like to say that I personally believe that when the Revolutionary Government offered the American Government the possibility of obtaining our liberty through negotiations, that Government, for reasons not known to me, did not consent to them nor has it helped the Relatives' Committee to obtain our freedom.

Regarding the participation of the U. S. Government in the events at Playa Girón, that was made evident by the statement made by the United States President himself, in which he assumed responsibility for the events at Girón and for the men in Brigade 2506.

That is all I have to say, Mr. President.

President—Does the Prosecutor wish to ask any questions?

Prosecutor — No, Mr. President, the Prosecutor does not wish to question.

President—And the Attorney for the Defense?

Attorney for the Defense—No, Mr. President.

President — Will the defendant please state whether any pressure has been put on him not to testify before this court?

Defendant — None, Mr. President.

President — You have testified of your own free will?

Defendant — Of my own free will.

President — You may be seated.

Imperialism stands accused

*President Kennedy, and his
collaborators the CIA and the Pentagon,
who represent the monopolies,
before the invasion
shamelessly denied their participation,
and then cynically confessed to the
preparation and execution
of the armed aggression.*

At a press conference on April 12th, 1961, *John F. Kennedy said that his government would not permit an invasion of Cuba to be organized in the United States.*

A UPI cable datelined Washington on the 26th of April, 1961, quoting a special statement by White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, read as follows: *"President Kennedy accepted on Monday, full responsibility for the failure in Cuba, and gave the order that no member of his Administration attempt to blame any other person".*

Those who were mainly responsible for the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón, the true creators of innumerable aggressions, acts of sabotage, and assassination attempts against the Cuban people, could not be prosecuted at the trial of the mercenary invaders, but they most certainly can be unanimously condemned by our people, and by all the peoples of the world, in the face of the evidence of their open and criminal intervention. The President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, his generals in the Pentagon, his bloodhounds in the CIA, and his collaborating cohorts representing the big Yankee monopolies, who shamelessly denied any American participation a few days before the invasion, declared openly and just as cynically after the aggression took place, that the responsibility was all theirs.

President Kennedy, the highest representative of the imperialist U. S. Government, with incredible effrontery, with absolute contempt for public opinion, that condemned the mercenary aggression in all parts of the world and in many

expressed solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, declared himself the principal culprit of the aggression.

Along with Kennedy, many other politicians and generals in Washington, even while the invasion was taking place, denied their direct participation and tried in every way to hide and over-look the preparation that were under way for the criminal attack, while constantly stating that they would permit no invasion of Cuba to be organized in the U. S.

KENNEDY LIED DELIBERATELY

On Wednesday, April 12, 1961, President John F. Kennedy categorically stated at a press conference that:

- 1.—*There will be no intervention in Cuba by the armed forces of the United States.*
- 2.—*The Government of the United States will do everything it possibly can to make sure there are no Americans involved in any action within Cuba.*
- 3.—*The authorities in this country will take action against those who wish to establish a Batista-like regime in Cuba.*
- 4.—*The basic issue in Cuba is not one between the United States and Cuba, it is between Cubans themselves.*
- 5.—*The government will not permit an invasion of Cuba to be organized in the United States.*

However, at that same time, before the invasion, it was no secret to anyone that contingents of counterrevolutionary exiles were enlisting and training at various military bases in United States territory, and that they were receiving all types of military and economic aid; that in various bases established in Guatemala and other points in Central America, these same contingents, with military assistance from Americans, were receiving intensive training while waiting for the opportune moment to attack Cuba; that with the complicity of American authorities, planes were constantly taking off from bases located in the United States to burn Cuban cane fields and to drop all types of weapons and supplies to counterrevolutionary bands in the mountains. And following the same pattern, two days before invasion, American planes, disguised

IMPERIALISM STANDS ACCUSED

with the insignia of the Cuban Air Force, and pretending to be deserters, strafed the civilian population and airfields in Havana, San Antonio de los Baños, and Santiago de Cuba, in an attempt to destroy the small Cuban Air Force in preparation for the invasion.

STEVENSON REPEATED THE SAME LIES IN THE U. N.

On the 16th of April, while Cuba's denunciation of the pirate air raid on Cuban airports, which indicated the imminence of the invasion, was being discussed in the U. N. Security Council, and even on the 18th of April, after the aggression had already taken place, the U. S. representative in the U. N., Adlai E. Stevenson, was answering the Cuban accusations with these cynical words:

"Dr. Roa, speaking for Cuba, has just charged the United States with aggression against Cuba and invasion coming from Florida. These charges are totally false, and I deny them categorically. The United States has committed no aggression against Cuba and no offensive has been launched from Florida or from any other part of the United States."

"But let me comment on the many accusations about activities in the United States. I repeat again what I said yesterday; no invasion has taken place from Florida or any other part of the United States, and we are opposed to the use of our territory for launching a military attack against any foreign country. Dr. Roa has alleged, and others have faithfully repeated, countless instances of United States intervention in Cuba through air actions, arms, supplies, ships, and so forth. A careful examination of his speech will show however, not one bit of evidence of United States involvement. But the facts, or want of them, are evidently no deterrent to lurid rhetoric and accusation by some among them".

Many other of Kennedy's collaborators, representatives of the large monopolies, chorused the same cynical statement, denying any American participation in the invasion. Thus Secretary of State Dean Rusk made the following statements at a press conference, as contained in release No. 203 of the Associated Press (AP) on April 17th.

"The question of Cuba is being debated today in the General Assembly of the United Nations. There have been many reports of further disorders in Cuba and additional landings on the Cuban coast.

"There is not, and will not be any intervention there by United States forces. The President has made this clear, as well as our determination to do all we possibly can to insure that Americans do not participate in these actions in Cuba.

"We do not have full information on what is happening on that island. Much of what we have comes from the Castro regime itself and indicates that serious unrest and disorder are to be found in all parts of the country. I am not able, therefore, to answer detailed questions about what is a confused scene. The American people are entitled to know whether we are intervening in Cuba or intend to do so in the future. The answer to that question is no. What happens in Cuba is for the Cuban people themselves to decide".

Another Associated Press (AP) dispatch datelined April 17th, the day of the invasion, said that Senator Wayne Morse, Chairman of the Latin American Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had stated that "there is absolutely no proof to support Castro's accusation that the United States is involved in the Cuban Revolution (meaning the mercenary aggression) or is given military or financial aid to the invaders".

And countless public statements such as these were made by United States Government leaders in an effort to show the world that imperialism had nothing to do with the aggression.

However, it was no secret to anyone that U. S. imperialism had had a hand in the invasion from the very beginning. Sufficient information about training camps, the military bases set up in various places and the outright aid given to counterrevolutionary groups in the United States, had been spread long before throughout the whole world. The Revolutionary Government had been publicly denouncing the imperialist aggressions and preparations for the invasion, one by one, and the democratic organizations of Latin America, as well as the governments

of friendly countries had alerted the world concerning the imperialist plan to invade Cuba.

The failure of the invasion brought out extensive evidence of the shameless intervention of Yankee imperialism extensive. The captured mercenaries and their leaders made unanimous and extensive statements referring to the invasion preparations in the training camps in the United States up until their transfer to the Retalhuleu training camp in Guatemala; they all stated that the ships in which they came had been escorted by U. S. Navy warships, and that they received air support from United States planes; that the CIA had direct command of the operations, etc. The United States press had already begun to publish information revealing that the plans for the invasion had been made in the United States and pointing out openly that the Central Intelligence Agency was directly responsible for the failure.

The imperialists, however, did not wait for further evidence. Just ten days after the invasion had been crushed, President Kennedy, cynically made clear that the invasion had been the work, above all, of Yankee imperialism and said that "no one be blamed for the failure, except himself."

On April 25, White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger made public President Kennedy's confession. The official White House statement was published by the press and transmitted to the whole world by the news agencies.

The "Washington Post", among other papers, printed it the same day in article entitled "KENNEDY TAKES BLAME FOR U. S. ROLE IN CUBAN INVASION," excerpts of which appear below.

"President Kennedy last night took sole responsibility for this country's role in the ill-fated Cuban invasion and instructed Administration officials not to try to shift the blame.

"The President's position was spelled out in a White House statement as Republican sharply protested an assertion made on a Sunday T. V. program by Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall, that former President Eisenhower 'directed' the planning for a Cuban invasion attempt.

"President Kennedy has stated from the beginning that he bears sole responsibility for the events of the past days," said the statement, issued by the White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger.

"He has stated it on all occasions and he restates it now, so that it will be understood by all. The President is strongly opposed to anyone within or without the Administration attempting to shift the responsibility.

"Salinger was asked if the statement amounted to an order to Administration officials to follow the President's policy line. Replied Salinger: 'I would say that's exactly what it is'.

"The G. O. P. (*Grand Old Party*) hassle over Udall's remarks erupted on the Senate floor, where Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Illinois) demanded that Udall be disciplined, and, as far away as the West Coast where former Vice-President Nixon said he was 'shooed'.

"In speeches on the Senate floor, meanwhile, President Kennedy was both praised and condemned for the way he has handled the invasion of Cuba."

It was not necessary for anyone else try to prove the imperialist hand in the Cuban invasion. The foremost representative of Yankee imperialism, President of the United States John F. Kennedy, with cold cynicism, openly admitted having launched the mercenary invasion on the small country, supported by regular air and sea units of the United States Army, to try to overthrow the Cuban people's Revolution that has become an example for all Latin America; the lands trampled on, exploited and starved by the insatiable monopolies that formulate Washington's policy.

The imperialist press, as if this weren't enough, published afterwards the full story of how the mercenary invasion was planned in high government circles of the United States, particularly describing the direct participation of President Kennedy in the attack plans. A few paragraphs from some of the articles are quoted on the following pages.

THE IMPERIALIST PRESS CONFESSES TO DIRECT YANKEE PARTICIPATION

"The Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency urged upon him (Kennedy) a project that the CIA had been working on for months during the Eisenhower Administration..." Time, April 28, 1961.

"Late in January, Kennedy authorized the CIA to lay out the invasion plan..." Fortune, September, 1961.

"Secretary of State Dean Rusk went along with the plan, and so did the top foreign policy thinkers on the White House staff, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., McGeorge Bundy and Walt Whitman Rostow". Time, April 28, 1961.

"The job of organizing and training them was given to the Central Intelligence Agency." Fortune, September, 1961.

A few days after he had approved the invasion, President Kennedy tried to assure the world that the U. S. would not actively associate itself with any such enterprise." Time magazine, April 28, 1961.

"On April 12, while the convoy was heading North, Kennedy was impelled to announce at a press conference that the U. S. would not intervene with force in Cuba. Rusk made sure the idea got home by repeating the same guarantee on the morning of the invasion". Fortune magazine, September, 1961.

"The scheme was to destroy them (the Cuban Air Force) on the ground in advance of the landing, by a series of attacks on Castro's airfields". Fortune, September, 1961.

"The story was put out that Castro's own pilots, in the act of defecting, had attacked their own airfields." Fortune, September, 1961.

"To the President, the failure of the Cuban expedition was a discouraging and sobering experience." Newsweek, May, 1961.

"...John F. Kennedy's darkest and bitterest week as President." Time, April 28, 1961.

TIME MAGAZINE

Paragraphs taken from an article published shortly after the imperialist's fiasco at Playa Girón.

BITTER WEEK

At 5:15 one morning last week, President Kennedy's military aide, Brigadier General Chester Clifton, got an urgent telephone call. He told the caller to telephone the President at his weekend home in Middleburg, Va. Shortly afterward, in keeping with instructions he had given, the President was awakened and told that an invasion force of Cuban revolutionaries had landed as planned on the south coast of Cuba. So began John F. Kennedy's darkest and bitterest week as President.

Soon after he took office in January, Kennedy was faced with making a command decision on Cuba. His early hopes of avoiding clashes with Fidel Castro had rapidly faded. Now the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency urged upon him a plan that the CIA had been working on for months during the Eisenhower Administration: an invasion by U. S. trained Cuban refugees, with the U. S. providing air cover and logistical support. Shockingly misinformed, the CIA assured the President that the invasion would touch off uprisings against Castro and massive defections from his armed forces.

THE GREAT REVOLUTION

Fearful that open U. S. help for the invasion would turn Latin Americans, Asians and Africans against the U. S., the President vetoed air cover and logistical support. But accepting the CIA's assurances about uprisings and defections, he approved a too-skimpy-all-Cuban invasion that was doomed to bloody defeat. Secretary of State Dean Rusk went along with the plan, and so did the top foreign policy makers on the White House staff; Arthur Dean Jr.,

McGeorge Bundy and Walt Whitman Rostow. Only Secretary of State Chester Bowles opposed the project, somewhat deviously, by revealing, to the press, stories of sharp conflict within the Administration. The most outspoken opposition came from Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, William Fulbright; he was convinced that the invasion attempt would fail.

A few days after he had approved the invasion, President Kennedy tried to assure the world that the U. S. would not actively associate itself with any such enterprise. Said he, at his press conference 2 weeks ago: "There will not be, under any circumstances, an intervention in Cuba by U. S. armed forces". Apart from the damage it did to the morale of anti-Castro Cubans, the President's absolute promise acted last week as a barrier against effective action during the critical hours.

...That evening the President interrupted his preoccupation with Cuba to don white tie and tails and host a lively White House reception for members of Congress. As soon as it was over, he hurried to the Executive Wing, where high Administration officials were lamenting the dismal reports from Cuba. The session lasted until 4 a. m.

Next morning the last, faint ray of hope for the invasion dwindled away, and a sour fog of failure settled upon the Administration. Shortly after noon, the top New Frontier lieutenants gathered at the White House for a meeting that went on for seven hours. Present were Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Secretary Rusk, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, CIA Chief Allen Dulles, Information Agency Director Edward R. Murrow, Presidential Assistants Schlesinger, Bundy and Rostow, congressional leaders of both parties, and high military brass. The President was composed, even cheerful. He smoked his normal quota of two cigars, showed no signs of anguish, leveled no reproaches at the military and intelligence chiefs who had misjudged so grievously.

Around 5. p. m., while the meeting was still going on, six Cubans headed by José Miró Cardona, president of the anti-Castro refugees' Revolutionary Council, were ushered into the President's office. They went away still grim-faced, but heartened a bit by his promise that he intended to carry on the fight against Castro to the end.

NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE

*Paragraphs from an article on the invasion
published in the May 1, 1961, edition.*

DIARY OF A DECISION

The scene is the Cabinet Room in the White House. The time: The first week of April. The question before the meeting: Shall the United States permit the Cuban exiles to proceed with their plan to stage an amphibious assault on the southern coast of Cuba?

Assembled around the oval, highly polished table are the President, CIA Director Allen W. Dulles; his deputy, Gen. C. P. Cabell; the CIA deputy director for plans, Richard Bissell; Defense Secretary Robert McNamara; the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer; the Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Arleigh Burke; Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Assistant Secretary of State Thomas C. Mann; the chief of the Administration's special Latin America Task Force, Adolf Berle; and the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, McGeorge Bundy.

It is the tenth time in ten weeks that these same officials have met to consider the Cuban plan. Now, in this last dramatic meeting, the President ask to each man, in turn, the critical question. Not one voices opposition.

The final clincher, put forward by Bissell, the American in charge of the "Cuban case", was that the Cuban rebels were at a peak of training and determination. Either they must be permitted to make the landing forthwith, Bissell said, or returned to the U. S. and disarmed.

Strategy: The plan itself was simple: The assault force of Cuban exiles, setting off from Central America, would go ashore in the isolated, undefended under-belly of Cuba and establish a beachhead. Their very presence might

touch off a popular uprising against Castro and mass defections in the Cuban Army. In either event, or if the anti-Castro Cubans could simply hold the beachhead for two weeks, the United States might recognize a new government of Free Cuba. The theory was that Cuba was ripe for a general and spontaneous uprising, and that Castro —faced with revolt— would flee the island.

Mr. Kennedy himself made one last minute chance. Though the assault troops were Cuban and the boats were Cuban-owned, and no American was to take part in the landing, the plan did call for an air strike by American planes before the boats went in. The President decided an American plane might be downed and presented to the world as evidence of overt U. S. participation.

The President told Bissell that the Cuban expedition could proceed.

The scene: The same Cabinet Room, two weeks later. Around the big table are the Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress. One man asks the President the question on everyone's mind: What went wrong?

The President gave three reasons for the failure:

—The Cuban patriots had been overly optimistic about a quick uprising.

—Both the Cubans and the U. S. had underestimated Castro's military organization and his ability to deploy it swiftly and effectively.

—Someone who knew the exiles' secret plan tipped off Castro to the time and place of the landing. Castro let the exiles reach the shore, and then he tore them to pieces.

To the President, the failure of the Cuban expedition was a discouraging and sobering experience. Not only did it damage the nation, its prestige in Latin America, and its world-wide reputation for forth-rightness, but it also shock the President's faith in the Central Intelligence Agency and —perhaps even more— in the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

All had been involved in the Cuban plan which goes back to early 1960, when great numbers of Cuban exiles began to pour into the U. S.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE

Chapters from the article: "Cuba: The Record Set Straight", in the September, 1961 edition.

THE INVASION AND THE CIA

The idea for the invasion had taken root during the early summer of 1960. By then, thousands of defectors from Castro's Cuba were in the U. S. Many of them were professional soldiers. The job of organizing and training them was given to the Central Intelligence Agency, as the government's principal mechanism for mounting covert operations of this sort. It became and remained to the end the specific responsibility of one of the CIA's top deputies, Richard M. Bissell, a former economist who is also a highly practical executive. Among his other first-class accomplishments, Bissell had masterminded the U-2 operation, which was, until it finally missed, as one day it had to, the most economical and comprehensive innovation in espionage in modern times.

Training camps for the exiles were set up in a district in western Guatemala offering some privacy. The original idea was to feed the recruits back into Cuba, to reinforce the several thousand anti-Castro guerrillas already established in the mountains. Toward the autumn, however, a more ambitious and riskier project came under tentative consideration. Castro was organizing large formations of militia and was obviously bent on crushing the counterrevolutionary movement before the Cuban populace caught fire. [Another example of the gross insolence of the Yankees]. With a view to saving the movement, it was proposed to build up an invasion force big enough to seize and hold on the Cuban shore a beachhead sufficiently deep for the expedition to proclaim a provisional government, and so provide a rallying base for the discontented. By this time, too, the rudiments of an anti-Castro air force were in training nearby. The planes, however, were all

obsolete —mostly propeller-driver B-26's, twin-engine bombers of World War II vintage that had been redeemed from the Air Force's graveyard. Associated with them was a troop-carrying squadron with which a small detachment of paratroopers was training.

EISENHOWER AND HIS PROJECT

During the summer and fall of 1960, Eisenhower from time to time personally reviewed the scheme. In late November, the last time it came up for his comprehensive review, an operational plan had not yet crystallized; no timetable for action had been set. Across the Potomac at the Pentagon, Under Secretary of Defense Douglas, who was charged with queasy-military operations under the noncommittal category of collateral cold-war activities, was keeping a watchful eye on the project, and releasing such military talent and gear as the CIA requisitioned. Neither he nor the Joint Chiefs of Staff (whose connection with the project remained informal at this stage) believed that much good would flow from an attack made by Cubans alone. For one thing, the resources then available permitted the training of only 300 men or so, and the air unit had but a dozen planes. This was hardly enough to bring down a tough, well-armed regime, and Douglas repeatedly counseled more realism in the planning. Indeed, it was taken for granted by Douglas and the others directly concerned that a landing in force could not possibly be brought off unless the expedition was shepherded to the beach by the U. S. Navy (either openly or in disguise), and covered by air power in whatever amount might be necessary. Eisenhower, the commander of Normandy, understood this well enough.

"YOU MAY HAVE TO SEND TRCOPS IN"

It became obvious toward the end of 1960 that Ike would be out of office well before an effective force would be ready. So the decision as to how big the show should be, and how conspicuous should be the U. S. share, and in what role, was no longer his to make. Given the relaxed attitude at the White House, the military chiefs also relaxed; military concern for the enterprise sank to the "Indians" —from the four-star level to the colonels on the Joint Staff who had been advising the CIA in such matters

as training and tactics. Bissell was encouraged, on the one hand, to go forward with preparations for an invasion, but he was cautioned to be ready to fall back to the more modest objective of simply generating a supply of reinforcements for the anti-Castro forces in the mountains.

Before Eisenhower was fully rid of his responsibility, however, a number of disquieting developments combined to impart to the enterprise an air of emergency. It was established that Castro was to start receiving, early in 1961, substantial deliveries of Soviet jet fighters, and that pilots to man them were already being trained in Czechoslovakia. From all indications, these would provide him, by early summer, with an air force that would be more than enough to extinguish the last chance of a successful invasion by Cuban exiles; it would be by all odds the most powerful air force in Latin America. Two other developments were scarcely less worrisome. Castro was making progress in his systematic destruction of his enemies in the mountains, upon whose cooperation the invasion counted, and there was no way, save by an overt air supply, to get guns and ammunition to them. The stability of the exile movement itself was, moreover, coming into question. Warring political factions threatened to split their ranks, and men who had trained long and painstakingly were impatient over the failure of their American advisers to set a sailing date. The feeling took hold of them and their American sponsors that it was to be in the spring or never.

After his election, Kennedy had been briefed fairly frequently on the Cuba situation, along with that in Laos. As his hour of authority approached, the question of what to do about Cuba was increasingly on his mind. The problem had a personal angle. In his fourth television debate with Richard Nixon, he had sharply blamed the Eisenhower Administration for permitting Communism to seize a base there, "only ninety miles off the coast of the U.S." He discussed Cuba, along with Laos, at length in both of his pre-inaugural talks with Eisenhower, and by his stipulation. Ike was inclined to rank Cuba below Laos in terms of urgency, but Cuba clearly worried him. In their second conversation Ike said: "It's already a bad situation. You may have to send troops in."

THE FIRST NECESSITY: CONTROL OF THE AIR

On taking office, Kennedy at once called for a detailed briefing on the condition and prospects of the U.S.-fostered operation. This information was supplied by Allen W. Dulles, the director of the CIA, and by Bissell. After Kennedy had heard them out he decided that he had to have from the Joint Chiefs of Staff a technical opinion of the feasibility of the project. It is at this point that the focus of responsibility begins to be uncertain.

The operation was not a Department of Defense responsibility. Only once before, in early January, had the chiefs formally reviewed the plan, at Eisenhower's invitation. Now they were asked only for an "appreciation" of its validity. The enterprise, moreover, had expanded considerably in scope and aim in the past few months. With more than 100,000 Cuban refugees in the U.S., recruiting had stepped up, and the organizers were at this point aiming at a landing force of about 1,000 men. An operational plan for a landing on the south coast of Cuba, near the town of Trinidad, was finally beginning to jell. There the country was open, with good roads leading into the Escambray Mountains and the needed link-up with the indigenous guerrillas. Also cranked into the plan were ingenious schemes—a barrage of radiobroadcasts from nearby islands and showers of pamphlets from airplanes—intended to galvanize the anti-Castro Cubans in the cities and villages into demonstrations as the invaders struck. It was never explicitly claimed by the CIA that a general uprising was immediately in the cards; the intention was to sow enough chaos during the first hours to prevent Castro from smashing the invasion on the beach. Once the beachhead was consolidated, however, and if fighting gear went forward steadily to the guerrillas elsewhere in Cuba, the planners were confident that a mass revolt could be stimulated.

Finally, the plan still assumed that U.S. military help would be on call during the landing. Castro's air force consisted of not quite two-score planes, a dozen or so obsolete B-26's, plus about the same number of obsolete British Sea Furies, also slow, propeller-driven airplanes. But in addition there were seven or eight T-33 jet trainers,

the remnants of an earlier U.S. transaction with the Batista government, so the force was not the pushover it appeared at first glance. Armed with rockets, these jets would be more than a match in a battle for the exiles' B-26's. The scheme was to destroy them on the ground in advance of the landing, by a series of attacks on Castro's airfields; should the T-33's escape the first surprise blow, there would be ample opportunity to catch them later on the ground while they were being refueled after an action. In any event, a U.S. carrier would be close by, below the horizon, and one or two of its tactical jets could presumably supply whatever quick and trifling help might be required in an emergency.

It stood to reason that, considering how small the landing party was, the success of the operation would hinge on the B-26's controlling the air over the beachhead. And the margins that the planners accepted were narrowed to begin with. The B-26's were to operate from a staging base in a Central American country more than five hundred miles from Cuba. The round trip would take better than six hours, and that would leave the planes with fuel for only forty-five minutes of action, for bombing and air cover, over Cuba. In contrast, Castro's air force could be over the beachhead and the invaders' ships in a matter of minutes, which would increase his relative air advantage manifold. Hence the absolute necessity of knocking out Castro's air power, or at least reducing it to impotence, by the time the ground battle was joined.

This, in general terms, was the plan the chiefs', reviewed for Kennedy. The assumptions concerning the possibilities of an anti-Castro uprising not being in their jurisdiction, they took these at face value. They judged the tactical elements sound and, indeed, they accorded the operation a high probability of success. They were allowed to appraise the training and the equipment of the forces. A team of officers were sent to Guatemala. On the basis of their report, the chiefs made several recommendations, but again their assessment was favorable.

Late in January, Kennedy authorized the CIA to lay out the invasion plan, but he warned that he might call the whole operation off if he had a change of mind as to its wisdom. D-day was tentatively fixed for March 1

but this proved impossible to meet. For one thing, it took some time to organize the quarrelsome exiles in New York and Miami into a workable coalition that would sponsor the expedition. For another it was decided that a battalion of about 1,400 men was needed to secure a beachhead, and that the force, which called itself the Cuban Brigade, should be beefed up generally. In consequence of these developments, the target date kept slipping until it finally came firm as April 17.

It has since been reported that the President was inwardly skeptical of the operation from the start but just why has never been clear—whether he judged the force too small to take on Castro, or because he was reluctant to take on so soon a nasty job that was bound to stir up an international ruckus, however it came out. Some of his closest advisers, in any case, were assailed by sinking second thoughts. What bothered them was the “immorality” of masked aggression. They recoiled from having the U.S. employ subterfuge in striking down even so dangerous an adversary as Castro, and they were almost unanimously opposed to having the U.S. do the job in the open. Even with the best of luck, there would certainly be a flutter among the six leading Latin American states, which, with the exception of Venezuela, had refused to lend themselves to any form of united action against Castro. And the repercussion would scarcely be less embarrassing among the neutralists of Asia and Africa, whose good opinion Kennedy’s advisers were most eager to cultivate. And so the emphasis at the White House and State began to move away from a concern with the military considerations—the things needed to make the enterprise work—and to become preoccupied with tinkering they hoped would soften its political impact on the neutral nations.

THE DISMEMBERING BEGINS

The “immorality” of the intervention found its most eloquent voice before the President during a meeting in the State Department on April 4, only thirteen days before the date set for the invasion. (Stewart Alson told part of the story in a recent issue of the SATURDAY EVENING POST.) The occasion was Bissell’s final review of the operation, and practically everybody connected with high

strategy was on hand —SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE MC NAMARA, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY DOUGLAS DILLON, GENERAL LEMNITZER, C.I.A. CHIEF ALLEN DULLES, AS WELL AS BUNDY, PAUL NITZE, KENNEDY'S SPECIALIST ON STRATEGIC PLANNING AT THE PENTAGON, THOMAS MANN, THEN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS, AND THREE OF KENNEDY'S SPECIALISTS IN LATIN AMERICAN MATTERS— ADOLF BERLE, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER JR., AND RICHARD GOODWIN. THERE WAS ALSO ONE OUTSIDER, SENATOR WILLIAM FULLBRIGHT, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, WHO HAD BEEN KENNEDY'S FAVORITE CHOICE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE, AND WHOSE SUPPORT HE WANTED. After Bissell had completed his briefing and Dulles had summed up the risks and prospects, Fullbright spoke and denounced the proposition out of hand: it was the wrong thing for the U. S. to get involved in.

Kennedy chose not to meet this issue. Instead, he quickly noted certain practical considerations and then, going around the table, he asked various of his advisers whether they thought the operation should go forward. Without exception, the answer was, yes. Berle was particularly outspoken. He declared that "a power confrontation" with Communism in the Western Hemisphere was inevitable anyhow. As for this enterprise, "let 'er rip" was his counsel. Mann, who previously had been on the fence, now spoke up for the operation. Rusk, too, said he was for it, in answer to the President's direct question, but as would presently be manifest, he privately had no heart for it. Two other men among the President's senior foreign-policy advisers, not present at the meeting, shared fullbright's feelings: Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles, and Adlai Stevenson, with the United Nations in New York, who soon came to know in a general way that something distasteful was afoot. In deference to these views, Kennedy —either at the meeting or soon afterward— made two separate rulings that were to contribute to the fatal dismemberment of the whole plan. First, U.S. airpower would not be on call at any time: the ob-

solescent B-26's could be used in only two strikes before the invasion —first on D-minus-two-days (April 15) and again on the morning of the landing. Although these limitations clearly lengthened the risks, Lemnitzer did not dispute them, nor did Bissell's own military advisers; they were confident that if the B-26's missed the T-33's on the first go, they would surely catch them on the second.

During the few remaining days, Kennedy drew his circle of advisers more tightly around him. Apart from Bundy and Rostow, the only White House advisers who remained privy to the development of the operation were the Latin American experts —Adolf Berle and Schlesinger. Lemnitzer and, of course, Allen Dulles were in and out of Kennedy's office. But the doubts of Rusk and Fulbright and of others were all the while imperceptibly converging on the President and, bit by bit, an operation that was marginal to begin with was so truncated as to guarantee its failure.

The embarkation of the expedition was scheduled to start on April 10. This was, in itself, quite a job. Some half-dozen small steamers were collected for the first movement, together with a number of tactical landing craft. The take-off point was a port on the Caribbean, several hundred miles from the training area in Guatemala, and the transfer of the Cuban Brigade was done by air and at night, through four nights, in the interest of secrecy. The gear aboard the ships was enough to supply the landing force through ten days of battle, and also to equip the thousands of guerrillas expected to be recruited after the beachhead was gained.

Only a week before the embarkation, and indeed only a day or so before the last go-around at the State Department, another serious change was made in the invasion plan. At the insistence of the State Department, Trinidad was eliminated as the target landing area. State's reasons were complex. Rusk decided that the entire operation had to be kept "unspectacular" and minimize the overtness of the U.S. role as much as possible. That required shifting the attack to a less populated and less accessible area, where Castro's reaction might be slower and less effective. Rusk and his own advisers were also anxious to be rid at all possible speed of the incubus of responsibility for

mounting the operation in Central America, anxious that the B-26's should be based as rapidly as possible on Cuba. The only vulnerable airfield capable of taking the planes was one in poor condition near the Bay of Pigs, on the Zapata Peninsula, about 100 miles to the west of Trinidad. Here the countryside was quite deserted and, to succeed at all, the invaders had to seize and hold two narrow causeways leading across a swamp that was impassable on either side. These actions did not end the last-minute curtailments directed by the White House. Even the arrangements for arousing the Cuban populace and trying to stampede Castro's militia with leaflet raids and radio-broadcasts were struck from the plan, and again because State was afraid that they would be too obvious a showing of the U. S. [*This paragraph of the article completely reveals the ignorance of the "strategists" in the Pentagon and the deliberately unfortunate policy of the State Department in their international relations*]. On April 12, while the convoy was heading north, Kennedy was impelled to announce at a press conference that the U.S. would not intervene with force in Cuba. Rusk made sure the idea got home by repeating the same guarantee on the morning of the invasion. The effect of this was to serve notice on the Cubans in Cuba, who were known to be waiting for an encouraging signal from the U.S., that whatever they might be tempted to try would be at their own risk. [*The statements of Kennedy and Rusk, in the face of their statements before the aggression, reveal the President of the United States and the Secretary of State as two solemn-faced liars*].

THE POLITICIANS TAKE COMMAND

Clear to the end, Kennedy retained tight control of the enterprise. As each new sequence of action came up for his final approval —the Go signal for the embarkation, then for the pre-invasion air strike on the morning of April 15, he came to his decisions quickly and firmly. All the way however, he reserved the option to stop the landing short of the beach. He kept asking how late the enterprise might be reversed without making it look as if Castro had called an American bluff. He was told: noon on Sunday, April 16, when the invasion force would be eleven hours of steaming from the Bay of Pigs. The Sunday deadline found Kennedy

in the Virginia countryside, at Glen Ora; only then did he raise his finger from the hold button. As he did so, he noted with his relief that no other unfavorable factors had materialized. He was mistaken. At dawn of the day before, by the timetable, the B-26's having flown undetected through the night from their Central American staging base, appeared over Cuba; and bombed the three fields on which Castro's ready air force was deployed. (The attack was, on the whole, highly successful. Half of Castro's B-26 and Sea Furies, and four of his T-33 jets were blown up or damaged and so removed from the imminent battle. The story was put out that Castro's own pilots, in the act of defecting, had attacked their own airfields. This was a gloss, to say the least; the attackers were indeed defectors from Castro, but they had defected long before. Later that afternoon, at the United Nations, after the Cuban Foreign Minister, Raúl Roa, had charged that the attack was "a prologue" to a U. S. invasion, Adlai Stevenson arose and swore that the planes were Castro's.

STEVENSON'S ROLE

From this hapless moment on, Stevenson's role becomes unclear. There was a subsequent published report that he intervened to block the second strike. Stevenson has flatly denied, and continues to deny, that he even knew about the second strike, let alone that he demanded that it be called off. But there was little doubt about his unhappiness over the course of events in the Caribbean and he conveyed these feelings to Washington. Before Sunday was over Bundy was to fly to New York, to see Stevenson (Bundy said) and still wearing, in his haste to be off, sneakers and sports clothes. This sudden errand followed a shattering order that went out to Bissell.

It was Sunday evening, only some eight hours after Kennedy had given "the go-ahead". In the first dark, the expedition was even then creeping toward the Cuba shore. In Bissell's office there was a call on the White House line. It was Bundy, being even crisper than usual: the B-26's were to stand down, there was to be no air strike in the morning, this was a presidential order. Secretary of State Rusk was now acting for the President in the situation. If Bissell wished to make a "reclama" (federalese for appeal), it could be done through Rusk.

Bissell was stunned. In Allen Dulles' absence (he was in Puerto Rico), he put his problem up to CIA Deputy Director Charles Cabell, an experienced airman. Together they went to the State Department to urge Rusk to reconsider a decision that, in their judgment, would put the enterprise in irretrievable peril. Cabell was greatly worried about the vulnerability to air attack first of the ship and then of the troops on the beach. Rusk was not impressed. The ships, he suggested, could unload and retire to the open sea before daylight; as for the troops ashore being unduly inconvenienced by Castro's air forces, it had been his experience as a colonel in the Burma theatre, he told the visitors, that air attack could be more of a nuisance than a danger. One fact he made absolutely clear: militarily considerations had overruled the political when the D-minus-two strike had been laid on; now political considerations were taking over. While they were talking, Rusk telephoned the President at Glen Ora to say that Cabell and Bissell were at his side, and that they were worried about the cancellation of the strike. Rusk, at one point, put his hand over the mouthpiece, and asked Cabell whether he wished to speak to the President. Cabell shook his head. Perhaps that was his mistake; it was certainly his last chance to appeal a lamentable decision. But Bundy had made it clear that Rusk was acting for the President, and Cabell is a professional military man, trained to take orders after facts had been argued with the man in command.

On their return to the office, Bissell flashed orders to the B-26 commander at the staging field, more than 500 miles from the Bay of Pigs. The force got the changed orders shortly before midnight, only half an hour or so before they were scheduled to depart; the bomb bays were already loaded and the crews were aboard. Meanwhile the planes carrying the paratroopers had taken off, and the first assault barges, still unobserved, were even then approaching the beaches.

TUESDAY, THE TURNING POINT

Past midnight, in the early watches, Bissell and Cabell restudied the battle plan, while signals of consternation welled up from their men far to the south. At four o'clock,

less than an hour before first light on the Cuban shore, Cabell went back to Rusk with another proposal. It was manifestly impossible for the Brigade's small force of B-26's (only sixteen were operational) to provide effective air cover for the ships from their distant base against jets that could reach the ships in minutes. Cabell now asked whether, if the ships were to pull back of the three or twelve-mile-limit—whichever distance U. S. legal doctrine held to be the beginnings of international water—the U.S.S. BOXER, a carrier on station about fifty miles from the Bay of Pigs, could be instructed to provide cover for them. Rusk said no and this time Cabell finally took advantage of the "re-clama" that Bundy had extended to Bissell. The President was awakened. Cabell registered his concern. The answer still was no.

Shortly after that, on Monday morning, April 17, brigadier General Chester Clifton, the President's military aide, received word that the Cuban Brigade had landed. They had little chance. They were without the ranging fire power that the B-26's with their bombs and machine guns had been expected to apply against Castro's tanks and artillery as they wheeled up. Castro's forces came up fast. He still had four jets left, and they were indeed armed with powerful rockets. He used them well against the ships in the bay. Before the morning was gone, he had sunk two transports, aboard which was the larger part of the reserve stocks of ammunition, and had driven off two others; with the rest of the stock.

Now Kennedy and his strategists became alarmed. About noon on Monday, Bissell was told that the B-26's could attack Castro's airfields at will. Orders went to the staging base for a major attack next morning. But the orders came too late. Most of the pilots had been in the air for upwards of eighteen hours in an unavailing effort to keep Castro's planes off the troops and the remaining ships. That night a small force was scratched together. It was over Cuba at dawn, only to find the fields hidden by low, impenetrable fog. Nothing came of the try.

Tuesday, the second day, was the turning point. The men ashore had fought bravely and gained their planned objectives. [*FORTUNE* omits the fact that around 1,200 mercenaries surrendered with all their weapons and

equipment.] They had even seized and bulldozed the airfield. But they were desperately short of ammunition and food, and under the pressure of Castro's superior fire power and numbers they were being forced back across the beach; three B-26's trying to help them were shot down.

Two small landing craft had made a rendezvous with two remaining supply ships and taken on ammunition and rations; but, from where they were, they could not reach the beach until after daybreak, at which time Castro's jets were certain to get them. There remained still one last clear chance to make the thing go. BOXER was still on station. The release of a few of its jets simply for air cover should see the two craft safely to the shore.

"DEFEAT IS AN ORPHAN"

That night Kennedy was caught up in a White House reception, a white-tie affair, for Congress and the members of his Cabinet. He was informed by an aide that Bissell wished to see him. The President asked Bissell to come to the White House. Calls went out to the other principals—to Rusk, who had been entertaining the Greek Premier at a formal dinner at the State Department, to McNamara, General Lemnitzer, Admiral Burke.

They gathered in the President's office shortly after midnight. One of the participants recalls: "Two men dominated that singular occasion—the President and Bissell, who was in the unhappy posture of having to present the views of an establishment that had been overtaken by disaster. He did so with control, with dignity, and with clarity". Bissell made it plain that the expedition was at the point of no return; unless U. S. airpower was brought forward, the men on the beach were doomed. In substance, he asked that the BOXER's planes be brought into the battle to save the operation. Rusk still would not have this. Several other were also opposed, including the President's personal staffers. Burke vouched for the worth of Bissell's proposition. The discussion with the President lasted until 2:00 a.m. Its outcome was a singular compromise. Jets from the BOXER would provide cover next morning for exactly one hour—from 6:30 to 7:30 a.m., just long enough for the

ships to run into the shore and start unloading, and for the remaining B-26's to get in a hard blow.

Next morning, through an incredible mischance, the B-26's were over Cuba half an hour ahead of schedule. BOXER's jets were still on the flight deck. But Castro's jets were ready. Two of the B-26's were shot down; others were hit and forced to abort. That was the melancholy end. At two thirty that afternoon, Bissell received word from one of his men aboard a ship in the Bay of Pigs: remnants of the landing force were in the water and under fire. There was a final message from the gallant Brigade commander ashore to this effect: "I have nothing left to fight with and so cannot wait. I'm headed for the swamp". [*Again FORTUNE omits the fact that he had 1,200 mercenaries and all the equipment left*]. Bissell went to the White House to report the end. Kennedy gave orders for a destroyer to move into the bay and pick up as many men as it could. It was no Dunkirk. Only a few men of the 1,400 were saved.

"Victory", Kennedy noted some days later, "has a hundred fathers, and defeat is an orphan". Yet, for all Kennedy's outward calmness at this moment of defeat, he was never, after it, quite the same. Speaking before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, a grave President said, "There are from this sobering episode usefull lessons for all to learn".

ooOoo

These testimonies from the U.S. press itself after the aggresion fully confirmed the typically imperialist character of the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón, and openly illustrates the direct participation of the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and his collaborators in the preparation and carrying out of the invasion, which, far from defending any principle or national interest, was directed from the beginning of its preparation to its crushing defeat, by the direct orders of the CIA and the Pentagon.

KENNEDY'S SHAMELESSNESS IS ONLY COMPARABLE TO THAT OF THE PUPPET YDIGORAS

On April 15th, 1961, the emissary of the puppet Ydígoras Fuentes, President of the so-called "representative democracy" of Guatemala, whose territory was used by the Yankees to establish military bases for the training and deploying of the mercenary invaders, appeared before the emergency session of the U.N. Security Council which was meeting to hear Cuba's denunciation of the pirate air raid against Cuban cities and airfields which was a prelude to the mercenary invasion.

Santiago Gálvez, as this diplomatic spawn was named, asked for the floor in order to say the following:

"I have asked for the floor to exercise the right of reply and to make a clarification: the gentleman who represents Cuba has referred to my country twice during his dissertation, stating that troops are being trained there to attack Cuba. I find it necessary to state before this commission that what was stated by the representative from Cuba is absolutely false, and I wish to register the most energetic protest of my delegation against the false, unfounded, unjust, and rash statements that have been made in regard to my country."

Two days later, on the 17th of April, when the mercenaries had left the Retalhuleu camp in Guatemala and had already trampled on the soil of our country, Ydígoras' ambassador cynically repeated again in the Security Council:

"Dr. Roa, quoting from the press, indicated that there are large landing fields and bases for the training of troops in Guatemala. That is true; such bases are for the training of troops for the defense of the territory and sovereignty of Guatemala against the possibility of an armed inter-

vention sponsored and announced by Dr. Castro's Government. But I deny roundly and categorically that the planes and troops that have attacked Cuba have left from those bases. This is affirmed in today's edition of **The New York Times** in an article sent by their correspondent in Guatemala yesterday, the 16th of April, in which he definitely states that there is no movement of troops or planes from the base at Retalhuleu, which has been alluded to so many times here."

Months later, when the very last mercenary had confessed to the training of the mercenary brigade in the Retalhuleu area and the embarking of the invasion from Guatemalan territory, passing first through Nicaragua, and when the entire Yankee press had described in full detail the deceitful transactions of the CIA, which was in charge of preparing the aggression and installing well-guarded military bases on Guatemalan territory, the despicable puppet Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes let the cat out of the bag. In a speech made at the end of 1961, he openly admitted his complicity with the imperialists in the aggression against Cuba, and revealed that in his deal with the CIA to permit the use of Guatemalan territory for military bases, his principal objective was to get the United States to arrange for Great Britain to turn over the Central American territory of British Honduras to Guatemala.

A cable datelined January 1962, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, reported the speech as follows:

"Tegucigalpa, January 2 (PL) — In his new year's speech carried over a Guatemalan radio station and monitored here, Guatemalan President, Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, accused the United States of not fulfilling promises made to his government concerning British Honduras in exchange for Guatemala's participation in the preparation and training of the mercenaries that were defeated at Playa Girón last April 17.

"Ydígoras, who directly mentioned President Kennedy of the United States, said that Kennedy should 'take into account' the fact that the adventure at Playa Girón was what he irresponsibly called 'a victory and not a defeat,'

and claimed that therefore the United States ought to fulfill its promise of using its good offices with Great Britain, apparently to return the territory of British Honduras to Guatemala. Ydígoras stated his speech that 'a favor of such great magnitude would bring upon the leaders of the Guatemalan Government the anger and threats' of their enemies. In his effort to strengthen the demand to have the promise fulfilled, he added that 'there are agreements signed in South America.' He did not however, specify what agreements he was referring to.

"Ydígoras said in his speech that 'President Kennedy still has another problem which has not as yet been clarified or resolved, that is the commitment made to Guatemala.'

"Later in his speech, he referred to the coming Foreign Ministers' meeting in Punta del Este, Uruguay, insinuating a warning when he said, 'those protocols could change the outcome.'

"Pierre Salinger, press secretary for the State Department, who is in Palm Beach with President Kennedy, has refused to make any comments concerning Ydígoras' accusations.

"The New York Times dedicated a commentary to Ydígoras' speech, pointing out that the Guatemalan President demanded 'the logical price' for his complicity in the frustrated adventure at Playa Girón. In the opinion of Guatemalan exiles who live here, Ydígoras' speech contains 'much scandalous material' and illustrates 'the degree of corruption and cynicism of Yankee imperialism and its lackeys, who settle their disputes at an infamous price before the eyes of the scandalized world.'

In its January 2nd, 1962, issue, The New York Times reported Ydígoras, words and referred to the U.S. Government's intention not to consider the request of the Guatemalan puppet. The newspaper confirmed Ydígoras' statements: "In a new year's day speech, President Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes of Guatemala said he had asked a 'friendly government' to use its good offices 'to convince Great Britain to return British Honduras to us': when a secret

agreement had been reached for the use of Guatemalan base by the Cuban Rebels" (meaning the invasion prepared by the CIA).

Thus the imperialist press confirmed the statements of Ydígoras who, contradicting his own declarations (as expressed in his name before the U.N. by "Ambassador" Santiago Gálvez, admitted his open participation in the aggression against Cuba. And this he admitted with the same gall and cynicism as Kennedy, two decadent spokesmen for so-called "representative democracy" that the United States is trying to impose by force on the subjugated peoples who are already rising up against oppression and colonialism in Latin America as well as in other regions of the world, with increasing evidence.

**The people
of Cuba
accuse the
invaders**

*Testimony of the witnesses
who participated in the
people's action to crush
the mercenary invasion.*

In the Summary Trial of the mercenaries who invaded our country on April 17, 1961, various officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces appeared before the Revolutionary Court to present the facts they knew or had been witness to, concerning the defeated mercenary invasion launched by the Yankee imperialists.

Each of these officers explained before the Revolutionary Court everything concerning the duty he fulfilled in the task of repelling and crushing the invaders, therefore revealing important details concerning every aspect of the invasion. The verbatim version of these statements appears as follow.

Statement of
CAPTAIN PEDRO LUIS RODRIGUEZ

Prosecutor — Captain Pedro Luis Rodríguez, I would like you to explain to this court first, how you participated in the action that led to this trial.

Witness — With the permission of the court—to begin with, I participated in the events of the mercenary invasion from the very first moments, in the active fighting against the traitors who had invaded our country on April 17th. Later, I was given provisional custody of them.

While I was with them many interesting things occurred which, if the court or the president of the court will permit me, I will relate.

President — The witness may tell whatever he knows of the facts.

Witness — Our impression of the prisoners was formed during our capture of them. We observed that the defeated brigade was extremely heterogenous; it ranged from latifundists right down to lumpen proletariat, as the indictment correctly stated. But not only that. There were some individuals who appeared very brave before their own buddies, but when they were called for questioning—and they can testify concerning the way in which they were questioned, whether pressure was put on them to testify—it was another thing entirely.

For example, I was shocked that Mr. San Román has appeared before this court to state that he refuses to testify. We have in our possession documents—it's not just my word—showing San Román's position from the first moments he was taken prisoner, documents revealing Mr. San Román's hypocritical conduct. Today he wishes to appear before the rest of the men here, who are his buddies, as an honorable man; as an honorable leader who defended the "honor" of the brigade—if it ever had any—right up to the last minute. These are documents that are many pages long,

many pages written to his father, in which he denounced the mercenary character of the April 17 invasion; in which he denounced the direct participation of the Americans in the preparation and carrying out of the April 17 invasion; in which he completely exposed the training they received in Panamá, in Trax, in Garrapatenango, etc., etc.; in which he completely revealed the complicity of the Guatemalan Government and the Nicaraguan Government in the events of April 17.

And today, as no surprise to us, although it may be to some of his buddies, Mr. San Román appears here before this worthy court to say he does not wish to testify. There are other such cases too. In regard to my experience with them, I can say that in the two and a half months we were in the Naval Hospital, which served as a provisional prison —is very important to point this out— the general staff of the brigade showed exactly what they were. For example, the case of Mr. Artime, chief of civilian affairs and political advisor for the brigade¹. He has a very eloquent pose today too. And finally, as the court continues calling on them, I am prepared to face them and ask them if they are capable of denying everything they have said in regard to the Americans' participation in the invasion, in regard to the mercenary character of the invasion.

President — If the prosecutor wishes to continue questioning the witness, he may.

Prosecutor — I would like the witness, if he can, and if he remembers, to elaborate a little more before the court on the statements that the head of the brigade, Mr. San Román, made to him; everything you can remember in regard to this is of greatest interest to the court. The proof of the invasion is determined by the presence of all these gentlemen here, but it is interesting to know the origins of the invasion, the participation of the U. S. Government, which they themselves have admitted; in other words, everything that you can explain to the court in regard to these facts.

Witness — Well, I repeat that it is a long story, and the documents are in our hands, but to elaborate on it a little

¹ This refers to the account made by the mercenary leader, Manuel Artime Buesa on page 75.

more before this hearing, I must say that in the documents which we have in our possession, San Román admitted that the plan of operations —the famous Operation Pluto— had been handed to him. He had no participation in the preparation of that plan, not in regard to intelligence or in regard to the operations that were carried out during the invasion.

The documents—written by San Román himself—revealed that the bases in Panama, in Trax, and in Guatemala and the instructors—the chiefs as he called them—who prepared the 1400 men were Americans. The names “FRANK”, “SPLITZ”, etc., appeared in it. Also he knew in advance about the cooperation of the Guatemalan and Nicaraguan Governments, etc., in the invasion. As an example of this, he points out that at a time when Ydígoras Fuentes’ Government faced a crisis, some of those who were in training, some of the Cubans, were called on to quell the supposed uprising against the Ydígoras Government. He also admits that in Nicaragua, “Tachito” Somoza went to see them off at Puerto Cabezas.

Prosecutor — Captain, what countries did San Román tell you he had been in during the preparations for the invasion?

Witness — San Román pointed out to us in his statement that he had been in Panama, in a group of instructors who had gone to take a course in anti-guerrilla warfare, and that from there he was transferred to Guatemala in an unmarked plane, which he recognized as an American military plane.

And there the formation of Brigade 2506 began. That is, he was at Trax, he was at Garrapatenango, and he knew that there was a base for the tank corps in Norfolk, etc. San Román knows all that in detail.

Prosecutor — Captain, you stated a minute ago that the defendant, San Román, had told you that he had not prepared the plan of attack at all. Did he tell you who had handed him that plan, or at least the nationality of those who had handed it to him?

Witness—He says vaguely that groups of Americans and some representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front met separately in a tent, and that the instructions given to each of the leaders came out of that meeting.

Of course, he admitted to us that American instructors, representatives of the U. S. Government, were there at the time the plans were made.

Prosecutor — Captain, you stated here before the court something else that is of the greatest importance; you said that when there was a popular movement in Guatemala, some of the mercenaries who were training at one of those bases to invade our country were called to the aid of the unpopular Guatemalan regime in order to repress the people. Did San Román state something to that effect? Did he have any knowledge of this?

Witness — Yes, sir. And of some more serious things that we will point out when the court requests it.

Prosecutor — Could you mention some names and some other members of the brigade who know of that circumstance or participated in it?

Witness — I can point out José Raúl Varona, chief of intelligence for Brigade 2506; I could point out others, but I would like to wait for the right moment.

Prosecutor — Captain, I would also like you to give your impression before the court regarding these men's motives, as admitted by them.

Witness — The motives for the invasion of Cuba?

Prosecutor — Yes.

Witness — Well, I believe that from the individual point of view each one of them had his own reason for coming to invade our country. There were ludicrous stories, like those who came to fight the Chinese and the Czechs, because, according to them, their country was full of Chinese and Czechs. And one very interesting question I asked was who their instructors were, besides the Americans, and they told me they were Chinese, Russians, and Czechs. Then I asked them why, if they had Chinese or Russian instructors, deserters from their own countries, they didn't go to fight in the countries of those instructors. They couldn't answer that question.

They said in various press releases that they had come to fight "Communism". They stated they had come to defend "democracy", a democracy we know all too well. In conclusion, almost all those who made up Brigade 2506 had a purpose which none of us here can doubt; that of winning back the interests of all the members of their

families, which represent large interests. That is, to give back to the imperialist monopolies the interests which the Revolution, through its victories, has assumed. This interest is purely economic, purely at the service of a foreign country. Why couldn't they answer how it is possible for a nation . . . and they wanted to compare this with Fidel, saying that Fidel also received aid from the Americans. And I asked them: "What aid? Did M-41 tanks accompany the invasion of the Granma? No. Did 75 mm. recoilless guns? No, etc., etc... And they couldn't answer that question. In other words, they admitted that such aid as was given to Brigade 2506 could only have been given due to imperialism's interest in defeating the Revolution.

Prosecutor — Captain, going back to the defendant, San Román, because of the important role he played in that invasion, he admitted to you—as you stated—the decisive participation of the imperialist Government of the U.S., in the preparation and carrying out of this invasion. All right now, when he realized the terrible failure that the invasion meant for imperialism and for him, did he show satisfaction at the amount of that American help, or on the contrary. Did he believe that at the last minute, as they say, they had been "sold down the river"?

Witness — There were very interesting documents written in San Román's handwriting that were captured at the Brigade's command post¹. There, with his nerves shattered, as he himself said he was urgently calling those who had promised him aid. But it was nowhere to be found and in the document which he sent to his father he says specifically: "I regret having served such negative interests; interests as bad as those that I have served. I can only win back peace of mind if I am shot."

Prosecutor — Mr. President and other members of the court: The witness has presented to this court, and has spoken of a series of documents, which, in the opinion of the prosecution, are of the greatest importance to the continuation of this trial, and to a full knowledge of the truth.

After the defense has completed its questioning, we would like the court to call a brief recess in order that the

¹ A reference made to the account, (page 63) of the mercenary brigade leader, José A. Pérez San Román, after his capture.

witness may locate those documents and have them read before the court. I consider it highly useful for documents of this magnitude, written by Mr. San Román, who is one of the major defendants, and who, using his right to do so in this case, has refused to testify, to be read at this session once the attorney for the defense has completed his questioning.

This is what I request from the court.

President — Request granted. Public Defender — Do you wish to question the witness?

Defense — Yes, sir.

President — The defense may proceed.

Defense — Captain, you say that you have been in contact with them since their capture at Playa Girón?

Witness — Yes, sir.

Defense — Under what circumstances have you been in contact with them?

Witness — I was at the Naval Hospital, the one on the Vía Blanca, for around two and a half months, and I had the opportunity to talk with them...

Defense — With all of them or with some of them?

Witness — It was not possible for me to talk to all of them, but I talked with a great number of them.

Defense — From the conversations you had with them, do you believe they all shared the same degree of guilt?

Witness — If the defense is referring to their positions, that is, their responsibilities as leaders, I would say no.

Defense — I am referring to what the witness said in answer to the prosecution's question in regard to their believing they had come to fight communism; against the Czechs, against the Chinese, and in defense of "democracy." All of them had that same attitude?

Witness — Ninety-five per cent of their statements are as follows: That they came to combat international communism, the Chinese, and the Czechs, and to our questions concerning this, about what they actually found there at Playa Girón when they landed, if there were any Chinese or Czechs there, they answered "no", that it was a big mistake, that they had been "sold down the river."

Defense — Then the versions that many of the cap-

tured mercenaries gave over television stating they had been "sold down the river," that was a version that you were able to confirm during your conversations?

Witness — Yes. Yes, these versions were confirmed. They insisted they had been "sold down the river."

Defense — But "sold down the river" in what way?

Witness — They had been misled on the basis of the information that they had, according to them, and according to their own ideas that here the Chinese and the Czechs were controlling the government, that the militia and the army were divided, etc., that there were a lot of things...

Defense — That is, in their opinion the facts that motivated their decision to join that brigade —as you explained— did not coincide with reality?

Witness — Reality as we know it, no.

Defense — Then there was a contradiction between the reasons that motivated the formation of the brigade and reality?

Witness — Yes, there was a contradiction if we look at it from their point of view, that they had come because there were Chinese and Czechs here.

I believe there were some who left Cuba a month or two before and knew that no such thing existed.

Defense — In that case, they would be guilty of something nonexistent. That is, the belief that this country was under the control of the Chinese and the Czechs.

Witness — But the interests they were pursuing were not non-existent.

Defense — Then the Chinese and the Czechs were not the issue, but rather the mercenaries connections with imperialism?

Witness — That was the excuse they gave, that there were Chinese and Czechs, but in checking the conduct of each of them, we were able to prove that it was not so.

Defense — That is why I ask you if in your conversations with them you have been able to reach a conclusion as to what the real motives were that brought the brigade and all of its members.

Witness — I believe that in the report I made to the legal department of the Ministry of the Armed Forces, I

explained the fundamental reasons for a group of mercenaries coming to invade our territory. Of course, I cannot state that the explanation they gave, that there were Chinese and Czechs here, was their principal objection. Why? Because after they found out that there were no Chinese or Czechs here, their attitude—and this is very interesting—continued to show what interests Brigade 2506 was pursuing.

Defense — In the report you made to the court, you classify the defendants according to social class.

Witness — Yes, sir.

Defense — In your conversations with them, was the attitude of the latifundists and the real-estate owners the same as that of the lumpen proletariat and the ex-soldiers of the Batista tyranny?

Witness — They are the same.

Defense — In what way are they the same?

Witness — First of all, the latifundists and the real-estate owners came in pursuit of an economic objective which is logical—to regain their lost interests. Secondly, the lumpen proletariat are displaced, they are generally at the service of corruption. Third, the ex-soldiers of the tyranny came to win back the positions they had under the tyranny and could not hold today in a revolutionary government.

Defense — And why did murderers like Calviño come?

Witness — It seems they were the vanguard of the other murderers, who stayed behind.

Defense — Then there is a difference between Calviño and the rest of the defendants?

Witness — I don't understand the question.

Defense — Were you able to note in your dealings with them whether the groups that were classified in this report of yours as real-estate owners, latifundists, civil service employees, ex-soldiers, and the group of murderers who were shot in Santa Clara had actually different degrees of guilt in each case?

Witness — I repeat that the objective was the same. Yes, there were certain interesting things during the two and a half months I was with them. Now, in answer to the

Defense Attorney's question: Among the majority of the "well-to-do," there was a prejudice toward Calviño and the other murderers —the ones they considered murderers. However, there were some who didn't know they were murderers even after it had come out in the press.

Defense — What do you mean by prejudice?

Witness — They said that they were a separate group; that they were passed off on them, that they were not... that it was at the last minute... that they were forced on the brigade at the last minute.

The fact is, gentlemen, that it is necessary to review the positions that each of these murderers had. For example, Calviño came armed with a .50 calibre gun, and those who criticized Calviño as a murderer, and those who didn't belong to his bunch, didn't carry .50 calibre machine-guns. And I asked, could those gentlemen have dismissed Calviño after they had won? To that question, they answered... many of them answered, "Well, we'd have to see about that afterwards."

Defense — One last question... was the witness at Girón when the arrests referred to in the report took place?

Witness — When?

Defense — When the arrests took place that you tell of in that report: On such-and-such a day, so-and-so was arrested... the day so-and-so was arrested?

Witness — No, not all of them. I did not participate in all the arrests.

Defense — But you were at Girón?

Witness — I was at Girón on the General Staff with Major Fernández, and as the [prisoners] were coming in we took down the date concerning the day on which they were brought in, where they were captured, etc.

Defense — Did you find out if the various defendants who are present today, when captured, lay down their arms and surrendered, or were they captured by force and disarmed?

Witness — Well, there are some cases in which arrests were made, or rather they were captured, after having been in the swamp for a number of days.

Defense — But voluntarily...

Witness — Yes. I don't believe anybody forced them to go into the swamp.

Defense — But I meant whether they turned themselves in voluntarily.

Witness — Well, you might say voluntarily. You can scarcely call being harrassed by hunger and experiencing what they did in the marshes of the swamp, voluntarily but I don't believe it was very spontaneous. And besides, they were being pursued by us.

Defense — But at the time when the group of defendants who are here, were arriving where you say you were receiving them with Major Fernández, did they come in an attitude of resistance, or in an attitude of surrender and defeat?

Witness — Well, their attitude was of defeat.

Defense — Could you reasonably say that at that time all the defendants who are here today had regretted their action?

Witness — No, I don't believe so. It might be as I said a little while ago that some of them showed regret among us, but after returning to their groups, they again put on their air of indifference.

Defense — That is all, Mr. President.

LATER APPEARANCE OF CAPTAIN PEDRO LUIS RODRIGUEZ

Prosecutor — Mr. President, with the permission of the court, the prosecution would like to continue questioning the witness, Pedro Luis Rodríguez, concerning the preparations, the system of recruiting, the military bases, etc. These documents that have been read here have demonstrated what we all know and what Cuba too, knows, and that is the participation of U. S. imperialism and its government in every aspect of the invasion. But in addition, they also demonstrate the crime of these imperialists who were not even sincere with the very individuals they were using in their plans, since all the lies, all the deceipts, and all the promises of aid they made, but never fulfilled, can be seen clearly.

I would like to question the witness concerning those aspects.

President — The prosecution may proceed. Will the witness please answer the prosecutor's questions.

Prosecutor — From the investigations you have carried out and your dealings and conversations with the defendants and your questioning of them, were you able to determine the way—in general, of course—in which the first enlistments for the armed group which later landed on our beaches, came about?

Witness — Yes, sir. As a result of the questioning of the majority of the prisoners—you must realize there were so many it was not possible to question them all—we were able to determine that the recruiting center was in Florida; that at the earliest moment they were transferred to Useppan Island. Many of them remember that for sure. That was the nucleus of Brigade Number 2506.

From that base some were transferred to the base in Panama; there some of them took a special course, or an instructor's course in guerrilla warfare. If I remember correctly, San Román himself told us on one occasion that he had gone with those instructors, he and some others.

Well, that was the way the nucleus of Brigade 2506 was formed. Some of them were transferred to Guatemala, to Trax Base; the paratroopers to Garrapatenango Base, until later they all were united on Guatemalan territory and given the name of Brigade 2506. One prisoner—I don't remember which one—said that one of the men there in training fell off a cliff and was killed, and for that reason they named the brigade after the number the dead man had.

We have heard many prisoners on television tell the truth in regard to the preparation of Brigade 2506.

In other cases, we have questioned a series of them and we have also gotten statements from the questioning before the television cameras, in which they admitted that they couldn't deny the participation of the U. S. imperialists in this affair. It was something that could be seen easily. The presence of U. S. instructors and State Department directives could be seen everywhere. For example, I could—with the permission of the Revolution Military Court—submit for reading, statements of some of the prisoners

whom I am going to point out here, which can be compared with those they made on television. For example, here we have José Martínez Suárez, an ex-Major under the tyranny, who, from the very first, stated before the television cameras and before us, that the Americans definitely supported the April 17 invasion in every aspect, and even directed it. Here you have Pablo Organvides Parada ¹, who stated before the television cameras that American participation was definitely evident, and that not only that, he had worked for, he had lent his services to, the FBI. Here you have Pedro de Armas ¹ ex-member of the Rebel Army, who from the first, indicated that he had definitely made a mistake. And here is Rodolfo Díaz, chief of the tank company; he assures us after listening to the document that he was called by Mr. San Román on the day he was already planning to take off from there. Here you have the Babum brothers, who were questioned by the newsmen before the television cameras and who from the very first also admitted American aid. Here you have Alberto Fowler, who has never denied American participation. And you have Jorge Alonso Pujol ¹, son of the ex-Senator Guillermo Alonso Pujol. Then there is Ulises Carbó, whose statement is on record and which he has corroborated every time he has been questioned.

I should like the court to have some of these documents read.

¹ See the statements made by the mercenary and CIA agent, Pablo Organvides Parada, on page 145.

¹ Turn to the accounts made by the mercenaries, Pedro de Armas, Jorge Alonso Pujol and Ulises Carbó on pages 129, 157 and 115, respectively.

Statements of

CAPTAIN JOSE ALVAREZ BRAVO

Chief of Antiaircraft Defense

Prosecutor — Captain, what post do you hold in the Rebel Army?

Witness — Chief of Anti-aircraft Defense.

Prosecutor — Could you tell the court, as Chief of Anti-aircraft Defense, about the anti-aircraft participation in all the operations relative to the surprise attack on Playa Girón and the previous attacks against our military airports?

Witness — Yes, sir. Our part began on the 15th, when our country was attacked by mercenary B-26's painted with the markings of our air force, when we fought against them at the airports of Santiago de Cuba, San Antonio, and Ciudad Libertad. On the 17th, when the landing had already taken place, we received orders to move some batteries to the zone of operations, and we arrived at a place called Pálpite at about 18:00 or 19:00 hours on the 17th. We found that the same thing had happened as when our airports had been attacked, that is, that the mercenary B-26's again bearing our insignia had deceived our militiamen, and this resulted in many casualties as well as the almost total destruction of the charcoal makers' village there in Pálpite.

That night... at dawn, we gave support to our column's attack against Playa Larga. On the morning of the 18th when the planes came to attack that column, they were forced to retreat. That morning Playa Larga fell and we established our batteries there. We were able to see how, for instance, at the fork in the highway leading to Playa Larga, a civilian truck had been strafed, in which a woman, a man, and a little girl had been machinegunned and burned by the mercenary fire.

Prosecutor — Captain, you certainly knew about the news released by the imperialist agencies saying that the attacks on the military airports on the 15th had been made by planes deserting the Cuban Air Force. You knew about this, didn't you?

Witness — Yes, sir.

Prosecutor — What nationality were those planes that attacked Cuba that day?

Witness — Well, they weren't Cuban, of course. They were mercenary planes. The Cuban planes were on the ground at that time. These were mercenary planes bearing our insignia and painted with our color. They were B-26 planes.

Prosecutor — B-26's?

Witness — Yes, sir.

Prosecutor — You also said that you could see the destruction and damage that the foreign mercenary airplanes caused in our country.

Could you elaborate before the court a little more concerning this? About the destruction of farmhouses that you saw...

Witness — Well, first I would prefer to finish recounting our participation up to the last day, when they surrendered to our forces.

Prosecutor — The witness may do as he wishes.

Witness — On the 18th, when we were at Playa Larga, we had to fire on American jet planes of the type used on aircraft carriers — planes that later strafed our column, which was already moving on Playa Girón. This strafing caused many casualties.

That afternoon we received orders to protect that column, our column, which was already beginning to move on Playa Girón.

At dawn on the 19th we had already completely protected that column. When the mercenary planes came, one of them was shot down and crashed into the sea in Cochinos Bay, another at the Australia Sugar Mill, and I understand that a third one, which had attacked us with rockets, was unable to return to its base. At dawn on the 19th we also fired on two transport planes we saw

dropping parachutes over Girón and on another one, which landed. We couldn't hit them because they were out of range.

On the afternoon of the 19th, Girón was taken, and from that time on we participated in organizational work and in picking up the mercenaries. That was how I participated as Chief of Anti-aircraft Defense.

Prosecutor — Captain, how many enemy planes do you estimate were shot down? How many planes do you think were shot down?

Witness — According to calculations the planes that first attacked our bases — I do not have the exact information on this, because it is not part of my work...

Prosecutor — Captain, I was referring to the losses during the operations at Girón, Playa Larga, and all that zone.

Witness — I estimate that there were 16 B-26 planes, at least. I believe that those planes were completely destroyed or badly damaged.

Prosecutor — You saw jet planes flying over the area of operations?

Witness — Yes, sir, we saw them first at Playa Larga when they attacked the column that had begun to move against Girón. Later, also on the 19th, we saw them again when a couple came in low and buzzed us, and after that many flew over, but quite high.

Prosecutor — Could you tell if those planes were firing?

Witness — Yes, sir, they were firing on the columns that were moving on Playa Girón.

Prosecutor — Captain, I asked you earlier about the destruction of farmer's huts and small towns that you saw. Could you tell us something about that?

Witness — Well, in the part of Playa Larga where we were, the village of Pálpite was almost completely destroyed. Fortunately, it seemed that the inhabitants had left the place. I didn't see any bodies there except those in the truck at the fork in the road on the highway leading to Playa Larga. That place was the town where the mercenaries had their most advanced position.

Prosecutor — Did you see the destroyed houses there?

Witness — Yes, of course, they were completely burned. There were no huts left. They were completely destroyed.

Prosecutor — Were they completely leveled?

Witness — Yes, sir.

Prosecutor — Captain, my last question is as follows. How did our combatants in anti-aircraft defense behave?

Witness — The behavior of the young men in anti-aircraft defense, all young militiamen under 20 years of age, was the honorable and exemplary behavior of Cubans who understand well the meaning of our motto: "Fatherland or Death!"

Prosecutor — That is all, Mr. President.

President — The defense may proceed.

Defense — The planes you refer to — you say they were not Cuban?

Witness — No, sir.

Defense — Could you identify the nationality of the crews of some of the planes that were shot down?

Witness — They were American B-26's.

Defense — And the crews, could you identify them in any cases?

Witness — I understand that the pilot shot down at the Australia Sugar Mill was identified as an American.

Defense — That is all, Mr. President.

President — Does the witness have anything else to add?

Witness — No, sir.

President — Were any of the prisoners captured in the camp where you and your forces were operating?

Witness — Yes, sir.

President — Do you remember the state you found them in when they were captured?

Witness — In a completely deplorable state.

President — Deplorable? In what way?

Witness — Deplorable for a combatant, deplorable behavior for men who came here with weapons in their hands.

President — Who are you referring to?

Witness — I am referring to all those who were captured there. We dedicated the 19th to picking them up, not capturing them. We only had to pick up the mercenaries.

President — Did they turn themselves in?

Witness — They simply turned themselves in. You saw them and you picked them up, that's all there was to it.

President — You are dismissed, Captain. Secretary, you may call the next witness.

Testimony of
MAJOR JOSE FERNANDEZ ALVAREZ

Prosecutor — Major, I would like you to tell the Court about your participation in the operations from the moment you arrived at the front, with all the details you can remember.

Witness — Well, on April 17 last year, in the early morning hours, we received orders to move to the School for Militia Instructors in the province of Matanzas and to mobilize that unit immediately in the direction of Jove-llanos, the final destination being the Australia Sugar Mill, in order to go into action against a mercenary landing that was taking place there at that time.

We arrived at the Australia Sugar Mill between 07:00 and 08:00 hours approximately, I don't remember exactly, and there was already news in the area of the landing activity as well as news of the action of a battalion, I believe it was the 339th from Cienfuegos, which was the first unit to be mobilized and to face the landing that was taking place.

There we faced the first difficulties we had with the farmers in the area. I remember that at approximately 08:30 hours, at first between 300 and 400 people had gathered to ask for weapons to fight the landing, at the place where we had established a command post.

Planes were flying, and while we were driving there in a jeep we saw B-26's that at first we thought were ours since they were painted with the insignia of the Rebel Air Force. But later when we arrived at the Sugar Mill, the mill administrator and various other people told us that the enemy planes were operating with the markings of our air force. We honestly didn't want to believe that this kind of activity was going on, but we contacted Havana when we saw a B-26 flying right over the mill, and it was

confirmed that at that time there were no Rebel Air Force planes operating in the area. Therefore, one had to conclude that they were mercenary planes, painted with our insignia.

As I said before, the first difficulties we faced were with the farmers. There was no appropriate place to hide them, and they had gathered en masse to ask for weapons to go to the front. With three or four fellows who had gone with us—since there were no other troops yet—we managed to move them from there to some cane fields and nearby.

Later two battalions from Matanzas province and the battalion from the School for Militia Instructors arrived and were given the immediate mission of capturing Pálpite and Sopllillar, in order to secure a beachhead on the dry land which lies south of the swamp. The mission was accomplished after approximately 12 hours of combat. At about noon both places were secured after a skirmish with elements from the paratroop battalion that had come down over that area and had scattered.

Later on, there were a thousand different incidents that I believe would take too long to enumerate, because they cover 3 days of combat as well as the following days on which the mercenaries who surrendered, or were discovered, were taken prisoners. So I'm going to try to outline these incidents, and if later the prosecution or the court wishes to ask more questions I'll be glad to answer them.

In the afternoon the first attack was launched against Playa Larga, and we could see the B-26's strafing Pálpite, where they burned almost all the houses, the people's store, and other buildings, and where they caused some casualties among the civilian population.

There on the highway in the early hours of the morning, we saw a truck that was evacuating a group of civilians, and which was strafed, causing numerous casualties, the majority or almost all of them civilians, including women and one or two children. I don't remember exactly, but I do remember that there were two women. That I definitely remember.

Later at night, after midnight, an attack was launched against Playa Larga, and in the morning at about 8 o'clock

our advance forces informed us that the enemy was hurriedly abandoning Playa Larga and heading toward Girón leaving some elements scattered in the direction of Buena-ventura.

Once the position was consolidated at Playa Larga the advance on Girón was ordered that afternoon and began at about 14:00 hours. During the afternoon we were also attacked by planes that appeared to be F-86's, or perhaps F-9's of a type similar to the F-86's of the U.S. Navy, which flew over Playa Larga several times. We ordered our batteries to fire at them with everything we had, but it was without any positive result, except that the planes abandoned the area and headed south.

That night we reached a point 9 or 10 kilometers from Girón, I don't remember exactly, but I do remember that in the early morning hours I was in Punta Perdices, which is about 9 kilometers from Girón, organizing the attack against that position.

On the following day there were also air attacks, and among the planes there was a B-29 Super Fortress that attacked Playa Larga. There was considerable anti-aircraft fire which hit the plane several times, but we couldn't be sure if it crashed or not.

On the front lines that same morning a B-26 was shot down by anti-aircraft fire. At midday, beginning at about 10 in the morning, an intense artillery barrage was launched in preparation for the attack on Girón. We launched small-scale probing operations, some from the north, and on the highway, until approximately 14:00 hours.

At that time we were organizing what we considered the final attack on Girón, when some of the men who were near us pointed out that some warships were appearing on the horizon. We were approximately a kilometer and a half from Girón, on a curve in the road there; we looked through our binoculars and we could see a U.S. Navy destroyer.

At once we set up a number of artillery batteries that we had available, some self-propelled artillery, and all the tanks on the edge of the coast, in an attempt to utilize all advantageous positions to face this threat, as I could see very well with my binoculars that the ship was approaching ready for action.

Another U.S. Navy destroyer was following about a mile behind. The order was given for our anti-aircraft artillery telemeters to keep the command post constantly informed as to the exact distance of the ships from the coast, the nearest one being between 6 and 7 miles.

Not more than 8 to 10 minutes had passed when a large number of launches, sailboats, motorboats, and boats whose nature could not be clearly determined, began to head toward the ship that was nearest land, and immediately some boats also appeared coming from land toward the ship.

Logically we thought that it was a new landing or reinforcements for the mercenary troops who were at Girón, and we ordered the whole artillery to throw everything they had at the boats that were heading toward the two destroyers. They fired with some success; this was a difficult task, to try to fire individually at each target, since they were very small targets to hit at a distance of 6 or 7 miles (the ships were no longer on the coast directly in front of us, but rather a little to the east).

We had also received a communique that we would get air support at 15:00 hours. It arrived a few minutes later and fired upon the moving boats.

Surprisingly enough, after the two destroyers had been there some 20 minutes or a half hour, or perhaps a little more, at a certain moment they headed out to the high seas and withdrew at top speed. Later we concluded that their radar had detected the planes that were heading there, but they left all the small boats in the lurch, which scattered in every direction. The destroyers retreated and we didn't see them again that afternoon.

That set us back greatly, because in the first place it took time to change fronts when we faced this new situation and therefore the attack on Girón was delayed. We found out that the completely demoralized mercenary forces, as we learned afterwards from the captured mercenaries—and later I'll relate what they said in general—had abandoned their positions, and some of them trying to put out to sea, had headed towards the coast, and others had hurriedly penetrated the woods, abandoning tanks, recoilless guns, heavy machine guns, bazookas, large quan-

titles of ammunitions, and in general, all the combat and communications equipment that could not be carried hurriedly in their hands.

When they were captured, all of them, in general, stated with a great emphasis what they later stated on television; basically, that they had been "sold down the river". However, there was a large group that placed the responsibility for the events that had taken place there, on the leadership of the brigade, on the chiefs. . .

Many of those who came on this expedition have been acquaintances of mine for many years and I talked extensively with many of them. Because of wounds that I had received, I did not go to the encircled area established after the capture of Girón and I remained there in the post of command. I questioned almost all of them; I was the first one to talk to almost all of them. What they said was that the leaders of the brigade, knowing what they were going to face, had brought them to this landing. After approximately 60 hours of combat, the brigade was completely dispersed—I'm not going to say decimated, because that has another meaning.

They all said that the Americans had given their support not only in material, in propaganda, and in material facilities for recruiting and training the brigade, but also in political inducements and moral support, we might say; they told them they were coming right behind them, that it couldn't fail, and that if the attack were not successful they would land immediately, and they promised them "the moon" in regard to immediate material aid.

And apart from that, they said that at the last minute the leaders of the brigade had disappeared, and that by the time they realized it, the leaders had boarded the ships. Therefore, within 48 to 72 hours after the capture of Girón, I personally was of the opinion that the leaders of the brigade—or some of the leaders, not all of them, because some of them had been captured—had boarded the ships to go back—because that evidently was the purpose of the destroyers that came there. This was corroborated by many of the prisoners, who said they had seen their leaders board the ships. The mercenaries stated that their leaders were absent at the last minute and that there was no command. Therefore they scattered in a

chaotic manner, because there was no one to lead the operation at the last minute.

Another thing is the number of casualties the brigade had. The lack of fighting spirit that the brigade had is really worth noting. Of course, individually, in certain sectors, there might have been fighting, and certainly they caused us casualties, but in general they did not have a true fighting spirit, they did not have a high combat morale. This can be seen by the percentage of casualties, dead and wounded, the captured equipment, and the number of prisoners taken. Not ten per cent of the total number of combatants were casualties. I don't think that it reached 15 per cent of the total forces, counting those wounded either slightly or seriously, plus the dead and missing. This indicates that they did not fight to the end. Troops are capable of having 20 to 30 per cent casualties and still continuing to fight, and in a situation like this where the advantage of the terrain —and much has been said about that here— was 100% in favor of the mercenaries, they could have resisted for a much longer time. We admit that our entry into Girón was delayed; we made many errors, and the biggest and last of them all was to overestimate the enemy.

When the destroyers were off Girón we thought it was a landing. We did not advance immediately —within about half an hour or forty minutes— which would have enabled us to get one or two companies, and mobile and tank units that we had available at that time, into Giron, because we thought that the enemy had much more strength and was willing to fight to the end and that they had received some reinforcements; and what we did was to ask for additional forces in order to launch one last attack capable of wiping out enemy positions.

Later, when our superior officers assured us that they were picking up mercenaries and that it was not a landing, but rather that they were trying to load the expeditionary forces on to the ships and were not landing reinforcements, we decided to do this: we entered Playa Girón practically without firing a shot and found loaded artillery, artillery that had been loaded some time before, tanks in position, machine guns, rocket launchers, and huge amounts of

rockets and munitions, as practically all the people of Cuba have been able to see in photographs, films, and exhibits; I mean, the proof of this has been made public.

This means that they did not fight bravely and resolutely to the end as they could have done. That is all I could say along general lines concerning this.

Prosecutor—I believe that Major Fernández' testimony is of great interest and that he has fully explained the development of operations as well as a series of very important features.

All right now, I would like to stress certain points that I consider of interest. For example, Major Fernández said that when he was told there on the field of operations, that the mercenary planes bore the Cuban markings, he didn't believe it in principle. And that's logical, because according to the usage and practices of war it is strange for enemy planes to bear the markings of the forces they are fighting. What does Major Fernández think of this action?

Witness—This is not only a violation of the laws, but also of the international practices of war. This is the reason, to extend on my reply a little, why the battalion from the School for Militia Instructors in Matanzas, one of the first units to go into action —and although all the units fought bravely and resolutely, this one, being one of the first and encountering extreme difficulties, even outdid itself, we might say— this battalion was surprised between Pálpite and Playa Larga, because two B-26's with our markings flew over them.

They even waved to the planes believing they were our air support for the attack planned against Playa Larga. The planes flew over them and there are some who say that they even returned the greeting, turned around, and then flying low strafed the column on the highway, which had no way to take cover. Time was very short as they thought it was a friendly plane and were only able to determine that it was an enemy plane when its guns began to fire.

Prosecutor —Major, you also referred to the attitude of some farmers who, when you arrived at the field of

operations, expressed the desire to support the revolutionary forces. Could you tell us something more concerning this?

Witness —That is known by everyone including the invaders themselves; they know it from their own experience. There were hundreds of farmers who were gathered at the place where we established our post of command at the Australia Sugar Mill at approximately 08:00 or 09:00 hours on the 17th. At that time, as is logical, there was confusion among the inhabitants of the area. All of them had seen about a hundred paratroopers who had landed on their farms, and all of them had left the area where the supposed paratroopers had landed and had come to us to ask for weapons in order to join our forces. We made them promises and lost time convincing them that we were not going to give weapons to elements that were still disorganized and that had not been given instruction, since we had more units than we needed that were militarily organized to go into action against the landing. And not only that, when Playa Larga was abandoned by the invaders, they had not only taken prisoners some of those who worked there but also some of the farmers in that area. These farmers did not abandon Playa Larga and go to Girón with the invaders; on the contrary, they stayed at Playa Larga and immediately approached our lines where they gave us all kinds of information concerning the enemy's strength, passwords, what the landing had been like, the names of the leaders, reports on their morale, the effect that attack which we had launched a little earlier had had on them, and everything else that we asked them.

With the same spirit, one of the wounded who was captured there, named Oliva, if I remember correctly, supplied us with information. He was a tall thin man who had a rather deep wound in his back. He was completely repentant and of his own free will gave us all the information he could about the landing because we were making immediate arrangements to send him for medical care.

There, from their own mouths, we were given data that was reliable, the names of the landing, the complete strength of the brigade, the number of tanks, their intentions, and even a sketch of the general plan of action. The

tactical maps of the officers who were detending that position were captured at Playa Larga, as well as many other important documents that showed us that the enemy was made up of 6 battalions, which included a paratroop battalion, a tank battalion, and also their forces, their names, etc., etc.

Prosecutor—Major, could you add anything else concerning the type of weapons the mercenaries brought? Not concerning where they came from, because we all know that, but rather what type of weapons they brought?

Witness—Well, as I remember it, there were about .45 pistols, a number of M-2 carbines, a large number of Garand rifles, and some Browning automatic rifles. There were light machine guns, I don't remember the exact type, whether they were A-4's or A-8's; there were a large number of rocket launchers—an exceptionally large number of rocket launchers and their rockets; there were 57 mm. and 75 mm. recoilless guns; there were .50 calibre machine guns, 60 mm., 80 mm. and 4.2 mortars. And there were tanks—the light M-41 tank which is neither a Sherman nor a Patton, I think they are called Bulldogs; the M-41, A-2, or A-4, I don't remember exactly but it is one that is currently used in the U.S. Army.

These, in essence, were the weapons they possessed, apart from the B-26's, C-54's, and C-40's that we saw, a Super Fortress that also attacked us, and the jets; we could not be absolutely sure whether these were F-86's or a similar type such as used on aircraft carriers. All these weapons, both land and air, came from the United States.

Prosecutor—Major, you expressed your opinion concerning the deplorable state in which the prisoners who belonged to the brigade were, when they surrendered, and you spoke about the way they fought, which included a judgment of their conduct in combat.

I wish you would tell the court how it contrasted with the behavior of our Revolutionary Armed Forces—our Rebel Army, and our great Militia—in defeating the mercenary invaders.

Witness—Well, the Revolutionary Armed Forces behaved valiantly; the proof of this lies in the fact the enemy positions were under constant attack for more than 60 hours, until they fell into our hands, and all the enemy

survivors scattered. That is, in spite of what I stated at the beginning, the fact that the enemy had the advantage of the terrain, every time we ordered our forces to attack or counter-attack or hold a position, they carried out the order immediately with energy and determination, all of them showing great willingness and high combat spirit.

I said before that one of the difficulties we had was in keeping the field of operations, that is, the battlefield clear of all units that wanted to join in fighting the enemy.

The swamp, which was the combat area, by its very nature, was narrow. The enemy had the advantage for the defense of its positions. We could not maneuver. In general, we had to attack by way of the embankment of the highway, which had 100, 200, or 250 meters open or available for maneuvering. That is, numerical superiority meant nothing in a case like this because we could not concentrate troops to attack on a narrow front.

The tanks, contrary to all rules and procedures, had to approach the enemy in single columns, that is, only one, or at the most two tanks at a time could fire at enemy positions.

At Playa Larga, the situation was exceptionally advantageous for them; the enemy found an area of land, an open triangle there, where they set up their weapons. They found a mound of dirt where they placed their guns and hid their tanks, and they sighted a narrow front of no more than 200 meters where they prepared the mortar barrage in advance, where they aimed their machine-guns, their recoilless-guns, their tank-guns, and deployed their infantry, in readiness to fire. When our troops began the attack the enemy didn't even have to aim, because we had to pass through that point. They only had to give the order to fire and their weapons were already aimed right at our combat units.

The highway from Playa Larga to Pálpite is straight for quite a stretch; the line of fire was so advantageous for them that even 3 or 4 kilometers from the location of the .50 calibre machine guns, the shells from their artillery and other weapons, even without their wishing it, struck our troops. We couldn't avoid it, because we were advancing

toward them longitudinally, and the shells that did not hit the head of our column hit either the center or the end.

This is the way our units were fighting. This the way they attacked at all times, and this is the way they won.

Prosecutor—Major, I would like to ask you one last question. And this perhaps falls into the area of prophecy. With the degree of organization that our Revolutionary Armed Forces are acquiring, what do you think would be the fate of an attack similar to the one that was carried out at Playa Girón?

Witness—Well, I believe that almost everyone here knows me, and the fellows know that I'm not subjective. Far from it. And I don't want to be a braggart in that respect, either.

But I can say that with a tenth of the forces we used at Playa Giron we could win today in a third of the time. The time needed for victory would include the time it would take our units to arrive at the field of operations, to deploy, and to fight. This refers to the preparation of the troops for combat, as well as the material means for combat, including the support weapons which we have and which are being used efficiently by the different units at any level we might mention, from platoon to army.

Prosecutor—That is all, Mr. President.

President—Does the defense wish to question?

Defense—In accordance with the testimony you have given before the court, do you believe that the power of the invading force had to have been organized, had to have been developed by a foreign country?

Witness—I don't quite understand the question.

Defense—Could that brigade have been organized with only the elements that made it up, that is, the Cubans themselves who came with that brigade and who are here as defendants?

Witness—In no country that I know of are tanks, heavy artillery, or B-26's sold in grocery stores, or five and ten cent stores, or any of those places.

Defense—That is, in your judgement, from a military point of view, strategically and tactically, the brigade was an instrument of imperialism?

Witness—Undoubtedly. Maps and plans were captured,

some written in English, and others in both languages—English and Spanish. I don't believe there were so many members of the brigade who didn't speak Spanish that it was necessary to write the plans in English.

Defense—You say that when they were captured they had a defeated attitude, which was expressed in the phrase they had been "sold down the river". Do you want to establish any difference between their attitude and the complaints you say they made about imperialism? Can you distinguish one attitude from the other?

Witness—What do you refer to when you say that they claim they have been "sold down the river"?

Defense—Well, they claim they were "sold down the river" in several ways. In the first place, they said that the American instructors said they were coming with them; in the second place, they were assured that the landing could not fail, that the invasion could not fail, because the militia would join them, that the Rebel Army was discontented and wouldn't fight, that the foreigners who were commanding these units had no influence over the troops; they were promised all types of aid. That was one way of "selling them down the river". The other way they referred to was the case of some of their leaders who they say abandoned them at a critical moment in the combat. I don't want to generalize, but this does not refer specifically to all of them and our first duty is to be truthful.

Defense—And do you believe that statement of theirs was correct, in a general sense, in regard to imperialism?

Witness—I believe it is definitely true, because the proof was in the ships that were seen there. I don't believe that the imperialist intelligence service, no matter how prejudiced or incompetent it might have been, could have been ignorant of conditions in this country or of the willingness of our people—and specifically our armed forces—to fight.

Defense—You said at one point in your testimony that you knew some of the defendants. To whom were you referring specifically?

Witness.—I know many of them who were members of the armed forces, and some who were not. I believe many of them were pupils of mine whom I have known for a

long time. I believe that almost all of them were officers. And I also know many of the civilians.

Defense—In the case of the armed forces officers that you refer to, did you know any of them —any of those who are here—who committed any specific crimes?

Witness—I don't know any of them who had committed any crimes outside of the invasion itself.

Defense—And the civilians you refer to, did you know any...?

Witness—No, I am not aware that any of them had committed a crime or felony in the past.

Defense—That is all, Mr. President.

Prosecutor—Mr. President, I would like to ask the witness one question.

President—You may proceed.

Prosecutor—But you are aware, Major, that criminals and murderers came on that mercenary invasion?

Witness—Of course I know it. And some of them were our prisoners.

Prosecutor—That is all, M. President.

President—The witness may retire.

Testimony of
MAJOR OSCAR FERNANDEZ MEL

Chief of the Armed Forces Medical Corps.

Prosecutor—Major Fernández Mel, you are also a physician?

Witness—Yes.

Prosecutor—I understand that your role in the operation at Girón consisted in carrying out your profession. Could you explain to the Court what activities you carried out there?

Witness—At 12:00 hours on the 17th I was sent on a mission to lead a battery of 120 mm. mortars to the zone of operations. As I was also Chief of the Armed Forces Medical Corps, we began to organize that, too.

We arrived at about 6 p.m.—at 18:00 hours—and at 19:00 hours we were at the entrance to Treasure Lake. There I turned over the battery and joined the General Staff, which was located at the Australia Sugar Mill. I began to organize the Medical Service, establishing field hospitals in Pálpite, the Australia Sugar Mill, and Cavadonga; the next day we established one in Cayo Ramona. When Cayo Ramona fell evacuation hospitals were located in Cienfuegos, Colón, Jagüey Grande, Jovellanos, the Military Hospital in Matanzas, and the last one was the Military Hospital in Havana.

The first wounded man we received was a mercenary by the name of Oliva—I believe he had been the owner of a garment factory in Bauta. He arrived with a large wound in his back. We treated him, and the information officer who was there took down the statement that he made spontaneously. He can testify to the care we gave the wounded mercenaries. We even used medicines on them that the imperialist blockade they were defending has kept from us.

I arrived on the 17th and remained in the zone of operations until the middle of the following month. I was

actually there a little over a month, until only 5 or 6 mercenaries were still at large. That is, I had contact with the great majority of them. By the way, I was amazed the day the mercenary, Pedro de Armas, testified. He was our third prisoner at the Australia Sugar Mill. When he arrived we asked him, without pressuring him, whether he wanted to make a statement, and he said yes. We called a stenographer for him; the stenographer came in a little while, but his hand was already tired. We decided to give the prisoner a pad and pencil so he could write. Now he comes here—he was in an empty room, no one pressured him—yet he comes here and denies it.

In relation to the planes, I must add that on the 19th, at about 6:00 in the morning, a B-26 flew over the Australia Sugar Mill, and bombed and strafed it. As it flew over a second time, our anti-aircraft artillery hit it and shot it down. The plane made a forced landing on a cleared cane field and we immediately sent a patrol to see what happened there. We reached it, and some farmers told us that two men had jumped from the plane and escaped. We found the body of one of them there. There were three of them—one whose body was charred, and two that jumped out. We immediately went after them. We found them in an orange grove about 4 or 5 kilometers from the place where the plane crashed.

One of the crew was named **Leo Francis Berles** of the 148 Beacon Street, Boston. His Social Security Card was No. 014-07-6921 and his pilot's license was No. 083231M, indicating that he was an American.

Prosecutor—Major Fernández Mel, you stated that our Medical Corps gave aid to our Revolutionary Armed Forces as well as to the mercenaries. You also said later that you treated many of the wounded...

Witness—The mercenaries?

Prosecutor—The mercenaries.

Witness—Almost all of them.

Prosecutor—Well, in general, what was their attitude at that time? Could you see any civilian, any rural community destroyed by mercenary planes?

Witness—Yes, of course. All of the right side of Pálpite, all of it was burned by the strafing of the planes; in ad-

dition to that, ambulances were also strafed. There was one Red Cross ambulance in particular that was totally destroyed by the mercenary planes.

Prosecutor—You mean that the mercenary planes bombed an ambulance?

Witness—Yes. Look, let me elaborate a little more on the subject. When we found the American pilot, **Leo Francis Berles**, he had a map that indicated the places they were to bomb; among them was the Australia Sugar Mill, the town of Jagüey Grande, and the city of Santa Clara, in order to prevent the arrival of reinforcements. And this is true, because when Varona, who was their information officer—their G-2—was taken prisoner, in one of the reports he sent to the rearguard he said that these were the places that should be bombed to prevent reinforcements from arriving at the field of operations... our reinforcements.

Prosecutor—Major, you referred to the defendant, Pedro de Armas?

Witness—Pedro de Armas.

Prosecutor—...who had written so much that he had to be given another pad?

Witness—He filled one whole pad of correspondence paper all by himself. There was no one, no one else in the room.

Prosecutor—Generally speaking, what was his frame of mind?

Witness—He said he was going to tell everything. He even showed us a letter he was going to send to the United Nations¹, which he did.

Prosecutor—He wrote it?

Witness—Yes.

Prosecutor—That is all, Mr. President.

President—Does the Attorney for the Defense have any questions?

Defense—None.

Assistant Judge (Manuel Piñeiro)—Major Mel, did you have any contact with any other mercenaries aside from Armas?

Witness—Yes, of course. There is one prisoner here

¹ See the text of the letter, on page 129.

named Ramiro de la Fe, a brother of Ernesto de la Fe¹. When we took him prisoner he spontaneously offered to go out in a sound truck to urge the rest of his companions to surrender. And he did so with good results. He told me that due to the fact that he had seen a sound truck pass by and that he had surrendered and nothing had happened to him, he wanted his buddies to know about it.

It would therefore be interesting to have the statement of the mercenary Ramiro de la Fe read here.

Assistant Judge—Do you recall any other prisoner of political importance within the mercenary brigade whom you have questioned?

Witness—Yes, Artime.

Artime² was taken prisoner about 10 days after operations had ended. We had gone toward the town of Bolondrón to encircle the area because we had been told that there had been some activity around there.

When we returned we asked if any prisoners had been taken. And there were three. They pointed out Berto Matos, who is a relative of Hubert Matos³, as the most important prisoner. I went to talk to them.

I began to talk to Berto Matos and I glanced toward a corner, looking for the third prisoner. I asked the one who was with me what his name was. I believe it was Roberto Rodríguez or Jorge Rodríguez. Artime had been a classmate of mine. As soon as I told him to stand up, I recognized him. However, we didn't talk, but rather I went to notify the General Staff.

Later I did see him alone and we talked. Among other things, he told me that he had been received personally by the President of the United States —Kennedy— and that he had known they were being "sold down the river", but that he had not been able to abandon his buddies, and that was why he had come.

I told him I was shocked that he had surrendered not even having a gun, that it would have been expected of

¹ Ernesto de la Fé was a Minister of Information during the Batista tyranny.

² Turn to the accounts made by the mercenary leader Manuel Artime Buesa, on page 75.

³ Hubert Matos is a betrayer of the revolution.

him as one of the principal leaders to have fought up to the last minute. Then he said he had left his gun a few meters away because he had gone for a drink of water. One thing was clear, he was completely demoralized and very willing to cooperate in every way, and to tell everything he knew.

Their state of demoralization was to be expected. The leader of the brigade was one of the first to surrender. He wasn't even captured; he was among the first to surrender; the second in command was the one who was in charge of the Playa Larga area. On the 18th, the day before, they had repulsed our night attack. We kept on harassing with artillery fire all night, and at 8 o' clock in the morning our patrol units reported that they had retreated. When a unit has taken a position and then retreats without the enemy having launched a new offensive, the leader of that unit is worth nothing.

Then Oliva —the leader— arrived at Playa Girón, and he received orders that pleased him very much. He was to go to the rearguard to get reinforcements. San Román himself said that he was immediately off to the plane for reinforcements.

If we add to that the fact that no unit leader was killed or wounded, that there was nothing, then what action was there? This proves their demoralized state of mind. There was no leadership in the battle, there was nothing.

Assistant Judge—Excuse me, you said someone dashed to the plane. Who?

Witness—The second in command of the mercenaries— Oliva. Those were San Román's words, not mine.

President—Witness dismissed.

Testimony of
MAJOR PEDRO MIRET PRIETO

Prosecutor— Major Pedro Miret, could you explain to the court how you participated in the operations which resulted from the landing at Girón?

Witness — Our part began when the Air Force bases in San Antonio and Santiago de Cuba were attacked on April 15. We immediately received orders to be ready to repel any attempted landing, since U.S. Naval Units had been a short distance off the coast of Havana, patrolling it for many days with obvious contempt for international law and without going too far off the coast between Varadero and Bahía Honda. All artillery units were ready then.

It is worth noting that all artillerymen, most of them workers, were anxious to wipe out the enemy, which, I repeat, ignored all the international treaties to which that country was bound, and in the most despicable way. I am referring specifically to the United States of America.

It is worth noting that despite the fact that it was the first time that Havana was bombed from the air, despite the facts that no formal declaration of war had been made, despite the fact that it was supposed that Cuba was a country at peace with all the nations that make up the U.N., our people remained calm and maintained absolute confidence that they would be able to defend their territory, which they later did.

That whole day we observed the provocations of the foreign ships. On the 16th, while the funeral of those who had been killed the day before was being held, these units attempted a landing at Santa Fe, in the area between Santa Fe and Mariel, which was the reason for the defense mobilization in that area.

In the early morning of the 17th we were notified that the enemy had landed in the southern part of Matanzas and we received urgent orders to send artillery units to

support our troops already in combat in the area of Playa Larga.

At 4:00 in the morning a group of heavy artillery went to support the troops already starting their offensive in that area. The day of the 17th passed without any important incidents, except for the insistent provocation of the U.S. ships lying off the coast of Havana in the area between La Cabaña and Mariel.

On the 18th we received orders to move with a mixed group to support a tank column which, entering by way of Yaguaramas, would attack San Blas and continue until it took Playa Girón.

We moved there with the heavy artillery. We arrived at the Covadonga Sugar Mill at about 3:00 in the afternoon. All along the way we were amazed to observe the calmness with which the people of Cuba had accepted the news, how preparations were being made to repel the aggression everywhere and by every means, how all the workers remained at work with their rifles at their sides, how the Covadonga Sugar Mill in spite of being so near the enemy was operating normally.

When we arrived there we could also see the moral weakness of the enemy opposite us, whose paratroopers had already taken the highway between Covadonga and San Blas . . . It is interesting to point out that this is the only entrance the swamp has on that side; that is, it is an embankment which at some places is as much as 8 kilometers long, and is completely surrounded by swampland. It can be defended very easily by any unit that has the courage to do so. However, I was able to see that infantry troops led by several Rebel Army Majors —Duque, Olivera, Saborit— almost at their heels had made these very well-trained and armed mercenary troops, retreat the length of the highway up to San Blas.

Ours was the mission of taking San Blas, Helechal, and Cayo Ramona. We directed a softening barrage at Cayo Ramona, all through the night. That was our immediate mission.

Our next mission was to support the advance of the tank unit, which would enter San Blas at approximately 9:00 in the morning, and our subsequent mission was to give heavy artillery support to the units which were sta-

tioned near the coast, to watch out for any possible attempt at counterattack on the part of the naval units off the coast.

Our barrage of fire began at approximately one on the morning on the 19th. About half an hour after we began firing we were attacked by a plane, which shows how well trained those mercenaries were, the means of communication they had, the proximity of the aircraft carriers to the coast, making it possible for them to repel the attack in such a short period of time.

At approximately 6:00 in the morning the air attack was repeated, since our units were continuing their barrage on San Blas, Helechal and Cayo Ramona, as I said before. This plane was shot down over the Australia Sugar Mill.

At 7:00 in the morning our artillery began preparing the way for the attack on San Blas; the enemy did not even wait until this action was completely carried out because it abandoned San Blas a little over an hour after the artillery preparation had begun.

Before our tanks arrived, Major Duque had already gone to San Blas, and upon running into enemy tanks near Helechal, he was taken prisoner. But there was no sign of the enemy in San Blas.

Thus the attack continued, as the tanks advanced with artillery support, arriving at the junction of the Cayo Ramona road—where Major Fidel Castro caught up with us—and continuing uninterruptedly until Playa Girón was reached.

The artillery units then took up stations and began a sweeping fire over the sea to prevent a possible landing form being carried out from U.S. Naval Units there. To be specific, there were two destroyers—two U.S. destroyers.

Once this mission was accomplished, we participated in clean-up operations and quickly returned to Havana to station the artillery units in that area in order to protect the capital, since a new attack by imperialism against our country, this time a direct one, was expected.

This is all I know about the action.

Prosecutor—Major Miret, what is your opinion, in general, concerning the behavior of the mercenaries during the attack?

Witness—In the first place, we must take into account that from what could be observed they had been given

rigorous training by real specialists —training which lasted more than 3 months.

For example, the communication lines of the troops who were invading our country were already established approximately 3 kilometers from Covadonga. This indicates not only rigorous training, but also equipment, means, etc., for combat, in many cases superior to our own.

At all times we definitely could count on the morale of our people, and that was the reason we destroyed them. But from the start they relied on the whole war technology of a militaristic country, a country which is dedicated to war, which thrives on it.

It's logical to think that country counted on real experts on aggressive wars. It's a country that's also accustomed to attacking other countries: one can suppose they've had more experience in this than anyone else.

That is, with the means they had at their disposal, I believe these men could have put up very serious resistance, which their mentors expected of them, and it seems to me, they let their mentors down.

Our experience in these matters also brings to mind... we remember, for example, how in the Sierra, Fidel would assign two individuals to guard a pass, through which Sánchez Mosquera was going to come. And two men sometimes held off a complete enemy company. Of course, these men had a high morale and knew why they were fighting.

However, here we see an enemy that laid down its arms, that retreated rapidly, surrendered almost completely when they heard the first shots —an enemy that did not suffer a great deal or had enough casualties to prevent their fighting.

The prosecutor can draw his own conclusions on the matter.

Prosecutor—This confirms Mao Tse-Tung's thesis that the men behind the weapons are more important than the weapons.

One last question, Major Miret, and it's a question that does not have to do directly with your participation in the battle, but rather with your participation in the Revolution.

I understand that before you assumed your present position, you were Minister of Agriculture in the Revolutionary Government.

Witness—Yes.

Prosecutor—During the period of time that you were Minister, one of the defendants in this case, Mr. Artime, committed a serious crime, misappropriating, or embezzling money from the people of Cuba.

Can you tell the court something that would give light as to the characteristics of this defendant?

Witness—Well, I can explain it to the court, because I was the one who signed the check... at least I can tell you about the part concerning the money embezzled from the Ministry of Agriculture.

Prosecutor—You mean that he embezzled other funds besides...?

Witness—The embezzlement that I know about was of money belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture.

He had two jobs. He was in charge of an agricultural development zone for INRA, and at the same time he worked for the Ministry in the so-called "Rural Commandos", which were created some time before the Agrarian Reform, with the specific aim of stopping its progress; they were called "Rural Commandos" which supported an Agrarian Reform based only on the distribution of the land that was covered with maribou grass, etc.

So this individual, besides his work as head of an Agricultural Development Zone, was directing an operation called "Operation La Sierrita", in which members of the Rebel Army were working.

He was sent some 5 or 6 thousand pesos monthly to cover the expenses. This money was for the payment of wages. In the last two months of his stay in Cuba, the wages of all these members of the Rebel Army were not paid. Thus this individual stole approximately 11 thousand dollars—the last two checks—according to a written accusation submitted to the Ministry of the Interior. I signed those checks personally.

Prosecutor—That is all, Mr. President.

President—Does the defense wish to ask any questions?

Defense—Are you positive that the defendant received the checks?

Witness—Yes, I am.

Defense—If the defendant wishes to contradict the witness, could the President of the Court ask him to do so—if he wishes to testify concerning this matter?

President—The defendant has stated on various occasions that he does not wish to testify.

Defense—The defendant spoke when he was given the opportunity to testify, and said that he did not agree with all parts of the statement. And he explained which part he was in agreement with, and which part he was not.

President—Will the defendant please rise?

Do you wish to clarify some of the aspects of the accusations being made?

Defendant (Manuel Artime).— For each check that was delivered it was necessary to present proof that the last one had been spent. So it would have been difficult for me to have taken two of those checks.

That is all I have to say. I refrain from saying anything else.

President—We are not trying the defendant for the matter of the checks. You may be seated.

Defense — Mr. President, with your permission...

President—The defense may continue.

Defense—The witness has heard the defendant say that in order to receive a second check it was necessary to demonstrate that the first check had been spent correctly. Is that so?

Witness—That is not so.

Defense—Would you like to explain this?

Witness—The checks were sent out monthly because they were for the payment of wages.

Defense—Even when there had not been an account?

Witness—It was expected that an account would be made later, but the workers were not to be kept waiting for their pay.

Defense—That's correct.

Is there anything the witness can add?

Witness—Yes, the presenting of an account was an

administrative procedure. It was done afterwards, but the check was sent monthly.

Defense—That is all, Mr. President.

Prosecutor—One question, Mr. President.

President—Proceed.

Prosecutor—That is, if they waited for an account, on the first check, the workers would be delayed in receiving the second. Is that it?

Witness—They wouldn't get paid.

Prosecution—They wouldn't get paid.

That is all, Mr. President.

President—The witness may retire.

Will the secretary please call the next witness.

Testimony of
CAPTAIN RAUL CURBELO MORALES
Chief of the Revolutionary Air Force

Prosecutor—Witness, what is your position in the Rebel Army?

Witness—Chief of the Air Force.

Prosecutor—I would like you to explain to this Court, as Chief of the Air Force, the participation of our revolutionary aviation during the invasion of Girón and on the day that the traitorous attack on our military airports took place prior to the invasion.

Witness — I would like to begin by telling you...

Prosecutor — In whatever order you like, Captain.

Witness—.. about the events that took place on the 15th, when three of our bases were attacked by mercenary planes.

In that perfidious attack, during which the enemy used the markings and colors of our Air Force, we received the first direct blow from our enemies, particularly from imperialism, which was unquestionably proven two days later when we were invaded.

On that occasion Mr. Stevenson said that the attack had been carried out by planes from the Cuban Air Force, stolen by Cuban pilots, who had attacked our bases before fleeing.

I remember that occasion, our Prime Minister challenged the U.S. Government to present the pilots to the United Nations, which was not done. Besides, their allegations turned out to be lies, which were proven by the treacherous attack on our country.

After that, two days later on the 17th, we were called to the General Staff office at dawn, where we were informed that our country was being attacked.

We were ordered to attack the enemy at daybreak,

before it landed. The mission was fulfilled with the few planes we had available.

There is another important aspect... Afterwards, while reading the enemy's operational plan, we noticed that the enemy said: "The Cuban Air Force has six fighter planes in very bad shape and with a very limited operational capacity"... After that, our bases were attacked. They thought that on landing, there would be no planes in the sky. They didn't take into consideration that although we had very few planes and pilots, they were ready to demonstrate to the world and to our enemies what men are capable of doing when they are fighting for a just cause. The result of that operation demonstrated this.

On the 17th two of their main transport ships were destroyed, in addition to a few landing barges, etc.

It should be mentioned that since the 17th, our planes had spotted two U. S. destroyers about 30 miles from the area where the landing took place.

The 17th went by, and on the 18th we continued fighting... on the 17th—I almost forgot this detail—three enemy planes were totally destroyed: two more were badly damaged. We don't think they reached their base.

On the 18th we continued our operation, mainly the harassing of the enemy's military and transportation equipment, and the machinegunning of the whole operational zone.

On the 19th, our planes were off and on their first mission they met with two B-26 planes and destroyed them.

I think that another B-26 was shot down that same day in the Australia Sugar Mill area. After that we didn't see any more B-26's in the air.

From the early hours on the 17th, our planes could see U. S. Navy planes on different occasions, violating our air space and territory. In some cases they dived past our planes.

I would like to explain the following to the Court: The enemy intended to have complete control of the air. Their operational plan with the bombing (of our bases) is proof of that. They thought they were going to find an empty sky. They also relied on the airport at Playa Girón.

I've heard many of the prisoners saying that they had planned on walking into our country because there wasn't going to be any fighting, and so forth. Then I'd like to know why they needed that airport with sixteen or twenty planes that harassed our troops and carried out a war of exhaustion against them?

It's my opinion that if the enemy's plans had been successful, our country would have had to mourn hundreds of workers and farmers, because those planes, with a base at the theater of operations, would have strafed our troops causing many casualties.

I believe that at least those of the invaders who knew the plans, if not all of them, understood this was going to be a real crime against the Cuban people.

I also wish to mention the events that took place on the afternoon of the 19th. That day, at about four o'clock, our planes spotted numerous small boats trying to reach two destroyers that were standing by about 4 miles off Playa Girón. Of course, our planes attacked these boats also, supported by artillery which had been set up on the beach, and prevented the fugitives from boarding the destroyers. I relate this incident as further proof of the direct participation of the North American imperialism in the attack against our country.

That same day, after we thwarted their attempts to put out to sea, the destroyers withdrew to about twenty-five to thirty miles off our coast. But on the morning of the 20th they were again two or three miles off our coast, in a provocative attitude. They were stationed off Cayo Diego Pérez¹ towards the southwest, picking up some of the mercenaries who succeeded in reaching them in small boats.

Until the 24th the destroyers were marauding around the operational zone—that is, actually inside the zone of operations.

Referring again to the U. S. planes that were seen—they flew from a U. S. aircraft carrier stationed about 60 miles off Playa Girón. That carrier was there from the 17th to the 20th or 21st of April.

These are the most outstanding events I remember.

¹ *Diego Pérez Key. An islet embedded south of the Las Villas province, in the small Bay of Cazones.*

Prosecutor—Captain Curbelo, you probably know how, before the aggression at Playa Girón, the imperialist news agencies spread all over the world the supposed existence of MIG-15's and other types of planes in Cuba. They even said we had launching pads for rockets here. That's what they told the world. However, their operational plans were based on the true status of our Air Force... which they also damaged with the sneak attack on the 15th. Nevertheless, all the Cuban people know that one of the most glorious pages written at Girón was the one written by the Revolutionary Air Force at Girón, with the old planes that it possessed at that time. We know we have much better planes now.

I would like you to tell the Court something about the behavior of those brave boys who so heroically defended their country.

Witness—Well, I could tell you that on the morning of the 17th, we sent exactly six planes on the first mission, four of which were not fit to fly, but were repaired that same day. When our country was attacked a method of preparing the planes was devised.

There were two instances in which a plane was considered ready for action: in the first place, there was the plane that was completely repaired. On the other hand, there was the plane that could just manage to take off. It was called "Fatherland or Death". Some of these planes were used and the enemy was able to witness what they did.

Many of the enemy ships were destroyed, and on the morning of the 19th we saw the last enemy planes flying overhead.

It is also interesting to note that nine pilots participated in the action. Two of them died on the 17th. The rest of the days, only seven of our pilots were in action. On the average, seven flights were carried out in a day—some made 9 flights in one day. This appears to be an exaggeration, but they are historical facts that can be verified.

I believe that the behavior of our Air Force did justice to the cause it was defending; the men simply did their duty. Sometimes I was quite concerned when I saw how eager they were to go out and fight. Then many of them... I remember one of them said to me: "Captain, this is our Air Force. Our country has been attacked. As long as we have

one plane, it is our Air Force —we must fight". I had to tell him: "Well, take off!"

I think that the behavior of our Air Force can be judged by the job it did. Each Cuban performed his duty when our country was attacked. The Militia, the Army, each man took his place and our pilots, our Air Force, simply did their duty.

Prosecutor—That is all, Mr. President.

President—The witness is dismissed.

Testimony of

CAPTAIN FLAVIO BRAVO PARDO

Prosecutor—Captain Flavio Bravo, would you tell the Court briefly how you participated in the operations at Girón?

Witness—In the early hours of the afternoon of the 17th I went with our Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro, to the zone of operations. We first arrived at the Australia Sugar Mill, where Major Fidel Castro gave the necessary orders to our troops, and later we continued to a point near Palpite at the entrance to Treasure Lake.

At his orders I participated that night in the attack, described here this afternoon by Major Fernández, against the positions the mercenaries had occupied at Playa Larga.

The next morning, after Playa Larga was taken, I was witness. . . I participated in the whole advance of our troops along the highway until Girón was taken. All along that route and throughout those battles I could see exactly what the character of the enemy facing us was. From the very first, we were able to see the atrocities and crimes that the band of mercenaries who had invaded our country were committing.

Cases of women and children killed and homes destroyed by the mercenaries have been described here; but something else that fills us with indignation is the cowardly and treacherous way—in violation of all the rules of war—in which these “gentlemen” used the insignia and colors of our planes to kill our troops without any risk to themselves. That cost us many victims.

This is comparable only to the deed which the Yankees themselves used for many years—and which they still bring up—as basic propaganda against the Japanese attack of which they were victims at Pearl Harbor.

I remember them always saying that one of the things that made them the most indignant, that angered them the

most, was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which they termed a "sneak attack"; and in Cuba, that U. S. imperialism which armed, trained, paid, and directed this group of mercenaries to attack Cuba, used the same sneaky, treacherous methods to kill our workers and farmers, our soldiers and militiamen.

Captain Curbelo has explained here, the cowardly way in which our airports were attacked on the 15th. He regretted not being able to call to mind, at the time he was testifying, any case which clearly demonstrates the reason our troops were willing to give their very last drop of blood to crush the mercenaries that had invaded our country.

During the April 15th attack on Ciudad Libertad, for example, at the same time as the attack on San Antonio, an 18 year old boy who was in the control tower was blinded. How many friends we have lost, victims of the sneaky, treacherous nature of the attacks on the 15th, and later on the day of the invasion itself!

We could see that we had a cruel enemy before us; an enemy that intended to use not the methods of war, but the worst of tricks and treacheries, to destroy our Revolution. It was a cruel enemy, well armed and well trained. But at the same time events showed, from the very first encounters, besides being cruel—which was evident as soon as it set foot on Cuban soil, or even before, during the attack on the 15th— besides being cruel, it was a cowardly enemy. I wish to stress that here. It was a cowardly enemy, and it showed its cowardice precisely by its cruelty; by its cruelty from the very first moments.

Cowardly, because as our troops began to advance, began to put up a resistance, to attack them, those people abandoned the battlefield.

I remember the night we attacked Playa Larga—the battle was described here by Major Fernández. It was a battle filled with difficulties for us; we had many casualties; the enemy was perfectly entrenched; it had sufficient forces to have put up a much greater resistance. In spite of having these advantages, at 8:00 in the morning out of cowardice they fled, and surrendered the field to us, and they did the same later at Girón.

That is, when they saw that U. S. reinforcements were not coming, that more air support —because they did have some— was not coming, that the Yankee troops that had been offered to them were not coming, without fighting to the end, which is what they would have done if they had any ideals, these “gentlemen” surrendered the field, fled miserably, laid down their weapons, and hid, hid in the Zapata Swamp.

Prosecutor.—I would like to ask Captain Flavio Bravo another question. Other officers of our Rebel Army have given the Court full descriptions of the action, the behavior of our forces, and also the behavior of the mercenary brigade. Would you, in your capacity as a political leader, give the Court your opinion concerning something that has been obvious here since the beginning of the trial and which no one in America or the world doubts, and that is, the participation of the imperialist U. S. Government in all the preparations, as well as in the carrying out of this mercenary invasion?

Witness—To me it is a crystal-clear fact that needs no demonstration, because even the leaders of U. S. imperialism themselves have admitted that this group of mercenaries was sent to Cuba in a plan which was, from its very beginning, prepared by the Government of the United States.

To me this group is a group of traitors to the nation. That is the name that fits a group of individuals who are organized, armed, and paid by a foreign power to attack their own country.

This is why I say: Who organized the training camps first in Miami? The CIA! Who acquired the training camps in Guatemala? The CIA! Who built an airport in Retalhuleu, Guatemala, that cost a million dollars? The Government of the United States! Who provided the instructors for that group? Who were they? They were *gringos*, *yankees*, they were *Philippinos* in the U. S. Army, traitors to their country, too they were Fascist Germans, Fascist Hungarians and Poles!

Who gave the arms, very modern arms, including some that are not yet standard for U. S. troops? The U. S. Government! Who supplied the ships for transporting these mercenary troops to Cuba? The U. S. Government! Who

spent \$45 million dollars, as confessed by the U. S. press itself, to arm these people? The U. S. Government!

And in addition, to clear up any remaining doubts, President Kennedy himself on the 24th of April made a statement in which he assumed complete responsibility for this group of mercenaries who invaded our country.

That is, they gave them money, they trained them, they gave them weapons, and one very important thing I would like to point out here is that the plan for the attack of Cuba was not drawn up by the so-called leaders of the invasion— it was given to them.

It was the Yankees themselves who selected these leaders: Frank, the Chief of Trax Base, is the one who called all these people together on the 31st of January and told them, "Your leader is San Román"; it was then that San Román found out about the plans the Pentagon had prepared. There are articles from the U. S. press¹ itself describing the meeting in which President Kennedy, together with top military leaders of the Pentagon and the CIA, discussed the plans in detail. The U. S. Press itself tells this —and I am willing to give the Prosecutor the informations from these cables— exposing in great detail, how even the most minor plans for the invasion were made by the Yankees themselves.

For that reason I do not have the slightest doubt that this group is a group of traitors to the nation, who came organized, paid, and armed to fight against their own country for the benefit of a foreign power; the same power that has been exploiting the people of Cuba for many years.

From this I can clearly ascertain the nature of the vile mission that brought these people, and the morale they showed later during the combat.

I am perfectly aware of the morale the defendants had, especially when later on we found out that among the defendants they owned 900,000 acres of land, 10 sugar mills, 9,666 houses, 3 banks, and 5 mines. This means that these defendants came to defend those acres of land, those mines, those banks, those sugar mills, and in addition, the right of the imperialists to continue exploiting our country.

I believe that if proof is desired, it is enough to re-read

1 See some excerpts from these articles on pages 169 to 188.

the U. S. press itself to get all this information, which it describes.

On December 31st, to go more deeply into the nature of the preparations for this invasion of our country, President Ydígoras Fuentes of Guatemala made a statement¹ in which he demanded that Kennedy make good his promise to negotiate the return of British Honduras to Guatemala, because that was the price he set for granting the use of his territory to the group of mercenaries—to the defendants—so they could be trained on his territory.

Thus, please note with what cynicism more than just one president—Kennedy—confesses his responsibility. All this is an indictment against these “gentlemen”.

That would be enough proof to take those who came with weapons in their hands to fight against the Cuban Revolution, before a firing squad, but the cynicism still continues, and Mr. Ydígoras Fuentes asks his accomplice in this adventure to make good his word to negotiate the return of British Honduras, because that was the price he set to allow the defendants, who are on trial here today, to be trained in this country.

It seems to me that there is more than enough proof that this group of defendants has come to Cuba in an action prepared by U. S. imperialism; by the U. S. Government.

That is all I have to say.

Prosecutor — I would like to ask one last question of Captain Flavio Bravo, who has so accurately shown the participation of imperialism in this action, judging by the statements of President Kennedy himself and the puppet, Ydígoras.

The question is: Does the witness therefore consider that the mercenaries who formed the invasion brigade were conscious that they were acting in the interest of a foreign power, specifically the United States, and against the sovereignty of their own country?

Witness — I believe they were completely aware that they were coming to invade our territory in an action that was organized, paid for, armed, directed and controlled by U. S. imperialism. I would also like to offer more information, with your permission.

¹ See this statement on page 189.

The so-called Revolutionary Council, which appeared to be the civilian leadership of this defeated adventure, was for all intents and purposes kidnapped the day before. And at the time, the United States and even the U. S. press syndicates were making declarations in their name; they had been kidnapped. That is, they did not direct the invasion, they were simply the screen—the shield—behind which a foreign power carried out its objective of fighting the Cuban Revolution, of invading our country, of recovering the interests it had lost to the Cuban Revolution, of recovering the imperialist's interests in the telephone company, the electric company, the sugar mills, the banks, etc., etc., etc.

Prosecutor—Mr. President, the Prosecution does not wish to ask any further questions, but would like to point out that if nothing has been asked about the so-called Democratic Revolutionary Front, and if it has seldom been mentioned in this trial, it is because for all practical purposes it did not exist.

There are only two factors here: Imperialism in one corner giving orders, and the mercenaries in the other carrying them out. Nothing else existed.

The Front was created by the CIA.

President — Does the Defense wish to question the witness?

Defense — Yes, sir.

President — Proceed.

Defense — Witness, you referred to acts of cruelty and barbarism and pointed out how they were perpetrated by the mercenary air force; didn't you?

Witness — No, sir, they were perpetrated by the air force and also by the land forces.

At Playa Larga a farm family was machinegunned by the invaders and half of the family died, in spite of the fact that the children shouted at them, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot! We aren't soldiers!"

That is, it was not just an act of cruelty by the air force, which could say, "we didn't see what we shot at. We fired a little indiscriminately." Think of the method they used for attacking our country, using the Cuban insignia to deceive us—that's justification enough for saying they came in a cruel manner, as murderers. Even when our troops are

concerned, even in that case, it can be said that the airplanes came to murder our troops, because they were using a trick to further their objectives.

But in that case, in addition to the airplanes, there were the troops at Playa Larga. That is, I think that those defendants, who were there should pay for those crimes.

Enough facts concerning this trial have appeared in the press-testimony we took in those days from farm families, photographs of murdered women, of murdered children. They [the prisoners] ought to pay for it.

Defense—Will the witness allow me? Another witness has given the same evidence about two women killed by air attack. It would be interesting if it could be made more explicit; if it was the mercenary air force or land troops.

Witness—What I know, the case I saw, could be different from (that of) the witness who spoke before; it was a farm family that was machinegunned by land forces, and almost all the members of the family died. Probably in the very book, you have there, there's the testimony of members of the family who survived, showing how in spite of their cries asking them to stop shooting, the mercenaries continued firing until they had murdered almost the whole family.

Defense—Witness, in relation to the answer you gave to the Prosecutor's questions about the direct participation of imperialism, many of the defendants said the same thing on television, as you surely know, because you were present at the broadcasts.

Witness—Almost all who took part in the televised interrogations in the first days, told where they had been trained, by whom they had been trained, what arms they brought; that is, there's nothing mysterious or secret, it's a known fact which they themselves declared.

Defense—I am referring to the concrete announcements of your accusation that United States imperialism had been the sponsor and organizer of that expedition.

Witness—Yes, they not only testified and demonstrated how they had been prepared by imperialism, but there's even the fact that some of them accused imperialism of having deceived them, etc, etc, etc.

Defense—Exactly. Don't you believe that in this

element of accusation existing among many of the defendants in relation to the participation of imperialism, a belated comprehension can be found in the fact that they had turned themselves into instruments of imperialism?

Witness—No, rather I found something else; I found that at that time they feared rapid punishment by us.

Defense—Many defendants have confirmed their testimonies, and when generic imputations are made by the witness, it must be taken into account that many defendants who have confirmed their testimonies stated that imperialism actually deceived them; and this must be taken into consideration.

Witness—That is, they were convinced they came here to serve a cause foreign to the nation's interest, serving U.S. imperialism.

Defense—Many cases of a concrete nature could be pointed out where that is true. But in other cases, of a general nature, such a definite date could not be set as to when they were convinced that they came as instruments of imperialism, as they declared in their testimonies that from the moment they organized Cuban counterrevolutionary groups in different countries of Latin America, they had the support of other governments, not only that of the United States, but also the support of other Latin American governments, such as those of Ydígoras and Somoza.

In this sense, for example, the participation of Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico, and the rest of it, couldn't that have produced confusion in unsophisticated elements, making them think that they really did not come as instruments of imperialism?

Witness—In my opinion, no. In my opinion, it would have been very difficult for anyone with two-cents worth of brains not to have known who it was behind all that. They came here fully aware of what they were doing.

Defense—For example, let's take the case of the priests who said they acted as chaplains in the expedition. They had left Cuba four or five months before Girón, they knew the true situation of the country and that there would be militiamen and soldiers of their religion at Girón. Can you attribute to them the awareness that they were instru-

ments of imperialism, prepared to kill those other catholics, or were they really confused?

Witness—I believe that no one could have been confused, least of all the priests, who are very well trained by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. If anyone came here fully aware of the purpose for which they came, they were the ones. Furthermore—to defend Cuba against foreigners? Who? They (the priests), who are foreigners? They came just to defend the interests, the large interests, of the high Catholic hierarchy in Cuba.

Defense—And, well, the Cubans, not the foreigners, the Cubans who came in that invasion, those who had been made to believe—according to what they say—that this country was dominated by Czechs, Chinese, and Russians. . . couldn't that have made them so confused that they thought they were coming here in a true war of liberation?

Witness—I don't believe it because in the first place, many of them, or rather the majority, had left Cuba only a short time before; furthermore, relations with Cuba and with their families weren't as difficult as many of them said. They knew the new from Cuba, unless they only listened to the news the U.S. press gave them.

I believe that the bulk of the Cubans who came in the invasion, came to defend their sugar mills, their land, their mines and their banks; and that the rest are the classic "lumpen", who always gather for something like "fishing in a muddy stream". Don't forget that 35 of the men who came in the invasion belonged to repressive bodies of the Batista tyranny. Furthermore, how is it that they were coming here to fight the foreigners in Cuba, in an organized expedition paid for by foreigners, that is, by the Yankees? How could we conceive of this?

Defense—Some of them have said they knew they were financed by imperialism, but they had never seen documented proof of this financing.

Witness—To me it seems strange that the gentlemen who said that, could have said so in all honesty, if the U.S. press carried the news of the money it cost their government to maintain the groups of counterrevolutionaries. There's a newspaper, for example, that stated that in the month of December, it cost the United States half a million dollars to support the counterrevolutionary groups. They would

have had to be blind and never read the imperialist press itself to ignore the fact that they were being paid by U.S. imperialist gold.

Defense—In regard to what you mentioned, that they belonged to repressive bodies, weren't the war criminals judged in a summary trial in Santa Clara, and (isn't it true) that the others who were not war criminals were not tried again?

Witness—I did not say they were war criminals. I said they were members of repressive bodies of the Batista tyranny. Those who are war criminals were tried and have already paid for their crimes before revolutionary justice.

Defense—And what do you mean when you point them out as members of a repressive body?

Witness—That they were people who had been at the service of the dictatorship, that they were enemies of the Revolution, and that the idea that there were Chinese and Soviets here as claimed by imperialist propaganda wasn't the real reason why they came to fight, because they had been fighting for many years, from the beginning of the Batista tyranny; that is, they were enemies of the Cuban Revolution.

Defense—In that sense, concretely, you are referring to this to destroy their version of the existence of foreigners in Cuba?

Witness—Yes, the question you asked me.

Defense—True. And those who were not members of the army of the tyranny?

Witness—Well, I've explained here, how, in this group of defendants, there are eight hundred gentlemen who had had in their hands, in their power, 146,800 acres of land, etc., etc. I said that one important part of the group had all the wealth... that is, they also came for class interests, for economic interests; they came to recover all the wealth and privileges that the Revolution of workers, farmers, and intellectuals took from them on the first of January! That was their objective, no matter how they put it.

Defense—And do you believe they really came here to fight for that, or did they come to take possession of a territory already pacified by internal forces, in which case the facts would be modified if they had not come to fight?

Witness—How can anyone say they came to a territory they had liberated? They came to fight, to take that Cuban territory from the Revolution; they came to fight, which is proved by the fact that they came carrying weapons, modern weapons. They didn't come to take possession of a territory that others had already liberated from the socialist revolution; they came bearing weapons to try to conquer that territory, that is, to fight. They came to kill. And they did this by the methods I mentioned before—deceitful, treacherous methods.

Defense—And to what do you attribute, after saying that they had definite reasons for fighting and that they had actually come to fight, to what do you attribute, in your interpretation—if there was no substantial modification in their attitudes—the fact that they surrendered in such a short period of time?

Witness—Because it's natural that those who come to defend an ignoble cause will not have the morale to defend it to the end.

Defense—But it's certain that they came to fight, as you just said so emphatically?

Witness—Yes, they came to fight believing in their own lie, that the Revolution was not so strong, (believing in) their own propaganda, which they had been spreading in every way possible; they presented the Revolution as a weak revolution; (they said) the militiamen were going to surrender, that the rebels would too, that the people were against the government, etc., etc.

They came deceived by their own propaganda, and this is not the first time in history that this has happened; this is not the first time that a group or a government or imperialism has told lies in order to discredit its enemies, and then believed those same lies. Probably this made them see the job they had outlined as a simple one, and they thought that they could obtain their objective with this group. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take something else into account—the type of territory they were trying to take was practically an island. Even though it is the Zapata Swamp, for all practical purposes it is a small island with only two entrances.

Their objective could have been the following: They could have entrenched themselves in this piece of land; they

could have set up a puppet government in the territory and have asked the imperialist U.S. Government for "help". Probably this group's objective was not to win the complete battle, but to bring the U.S. Government into an open fight with Cuba.

Defense—Did you say that the non-existence of the conditions they had expected—the attitude of the army and militia— was perhaps what made them abandon their fighting spirit?

Witness—I said before that in order to fight for a cause to the last drop of blood, it has to be a noble cause, a just cause. The cause of money, of land, and of banks is not such a great cause in the long run that a man will give his life for that cause, and much less so when he knows that behind that invasion is the hand of foreign interests, not just his, but bastard interests, foreign interests.

How can a man fight to the last drop of blood when he comes to enslave a people, to recover his economic interests? Is there any morality in that? No, they came, they showed their cruelty, thinking their task would be easy; they showed their class interests, their class morality, they could not continue fighting, they could not continue the battle, because they did not have a just cause to fight for.

Defense—In accordance with that interpretation, which we all know, and its deep roots in dialectical philosophic thought, do you think that the defendants could at this time still have the same attitude as the one they had when they came on the expedition, or might the same objective conditions of historical development have made them modify their opinion?

Witness—It seems to me that it would be very difficult for them to change their opinion, taking their class origin into account. It's possible that some of them might change, but it would be a rather small percentage.

Defense—But up to what point do you recognize the influence or value of the fact that they themselves had to recognize the failure of the invasion, had to surrender their arms, and that many—the great majority—had to accuse imperialism of "selling them down the river?" That is an objective fact.

Witness—It's an objective fact that I think should be

taken into consideration if they maintain this attitude before the Court.

Defense—Many of them have maintained it (this attitude).

Witness—I think that in those cases it should be taken into consideration, just as those who retracted their previous testimonies should (have) taken (that) into consideration.

Defense—I have no further questions, Mr. President.

Prosecutor—Mr. President, I would like to ask the witness a brief question.

President—The prosecution may proceed.

Prosecutor—I'd like to ask the following: Disregarding the personal motivations that each one had; one coming after his land, another coming after his factory, and another coming after his yoke and chains, which is all the brigade had in Cuba, in general—(taking them) all together—do you consider, Captain, that all of them were aware that they came in the service of U.S. imperialism and to fight against their country? That is my question.

Witness—In my opinion they were all aware...

Defense.—Mr. President. I object to the witness' answering that question, based precisely on the clarification of the Court itself, that the witness already clarified that. Except for those who have testified otherwise, he does not mean in general, but makes exceptions of defendants who did not have this attitude, according to what they themselves have testified. They have testified that they are disposed to repel imperialism.

Witness—Permit me, Mr. President.

President—Prosecutor, it is true that the question is out of order.

Prosecutor—Then I have no further questions, Mr. President.

Witness—Permit me, Mr. President.

President—Proceed, witness.

Witness—I see the two things as completely distinct.

President—How have you understood it?

Witness—The Prosecutor asked me if I believe they all came with the awareness they were fighting against Cuba and in the service of a foreign power. I believe that. He said that some have retracted that position, and actually some could have retracted that position.

But the one thing does not negate the other; all of them

came here with the awareness that they were taking up arms against the Cuban Revolution at the service of a foreign power. It seems very clear to me.

Prosecutor—Mr. President, the prosecution, because of the respect it owes the Court, did not wish to start an argument with the President, but actually, the answer that the witness just gave is the answer to the question I asked which was, that if when they all came to the action at Girón, they were aware of the interests they were serving, despite the later conduct of any of them which the Court will consider in due time. There is nothing else.

President—Does the Defense have any further questions?

Defense—No.

President—Does the Prosecutor have any other questions?

Prosecutor—No further questions, Mr. President.

President—The witness may retire.

Testimony of
CAPTAIN EMILIO ARAGONÉS NAVARRO

President—Captain Aragonés, could you tell us about your participation in the operations against the mercenary landing at Playa Girón?

Witness—With pleasure.

From the time that the Revolutionary Government decided, as one of its fundamental objectives, to recover the sovereignty of our country from the foreign interests that held it, we have been convinced that this aggression would occur. We were convinced by the very nature of imperialism, by its aggressiveness. We never had any illusions about this, we never believed that just by getting old, Uncle Sam was going to become a "prudent old man" or anything like it; we knew this invasion was coming.

I remember the words of Major Camilo Cienfuegos on the occasion of the purchasing of Belgian-made light arms for our Rebel Army, when he happily told me about that purchase and said, "These weapons will make sure that our willingness to fight for the liberty of the people will not die. We know that we will be attacked, but we will go to the mountains with these Fals, with these automatic weapons, and we will be an example for America and the world."

For this reason, knowing all these things, we began to prepare ourselves. And in the middle of a political fight against traitors, against negative elements that had infiltrated the ranks of our Revolution, that had reached government level, we also began to prepare ourselves militarily for self-defense against aggression. We knew that imperialism would attack us, and that, furthermore there would be Cuban traitors ready to place themselves at the service of imperialism.

As time passed this became even more obvious. Our intelligence services notified us of the presence of mercenaries in imperialist training camps. Toward the middle of the month of April last year, we were already expecting aggression to take place any day.

I remember that we were at Headquarters discussing the different plans, the possible alternatives of the attack they would make, etc. We had been talking all night, when at dawn we looked out the window and saw B-26's painted with the Cuban insignia. That caught our attention because they were two planes we didn't think were ours, and nevertheless they had our national insignia painted on their wings.

In a few seconds, I would say, only a few seconds after we saw them, we heard some strong explosions and we ran to the roof and looked in the direction from which the sound had come. There we witnessed the attack of the B-26's on Ciudad Libertad.

While we were concerned that this might constitute the beginning of the attack, we felt a wave of satisfaction when we heard the sound of our anti-aircraft, demonstrating that our anti-aircraft units, the first to face the enemy, were responding to the test with valor and decision, just as we had expected. And now we had proof of it.

I remember that shortly after the attack I went to the airport. There were the wounded, evidence of the bombing, the places where acts of heroism had occurred. We all remember the militiaman, wounded by machine-gun fire and covered with blood, who wrote Fidel's name on a door just before he died, because for him—as for all of us—Fidel was the incarnation of the people, the incarnation of the Revolution. This was an action that filled me with emotion.

I returned to headquarters and I could see the high fighting spirit of the people in the streets, that the civilian population had seen the attack without being terrified by the bombing; I could see their fighting spirit. I had no doubt and Headquarters had no doubt that this was the prelude to an invasion. We could not conceive of a direct

attack on the airfields with any other objective, because if they had planned an attack like those on other occasions they would have attacked a sugar mill, or an oil refinery, or something like that. That is, we, the General Staff, had absolutely no doubt that this was the prelude to an attack.

The following day was the funeral of the victims, it was a mass funeral attended by the working class in force, the people of Cuba, the members of the militia armed as a sign of respect; it was a demonstration of sorrow for those who fell in the first moments of the attack. There something happened which I think is very important, and which served as a stimulus for those of us who fought at Girón, and which was a great thing for us.

There our Prime Minister proclaimed the socialist character of our Revolution. For us it was a great satisfaction, because we felt that fighting in the following days, we could not only give our lives for our country, we hoped also to give our lives for the universal cause of socialism. We were full of satisfaction; we would die as Cubans and socialists.

The military operations of the following days have already been told here by other witnesses; I don't believe it's necessary to retell them. But I wish to dwell on one thing, and to tell of the actions that I personally took part in: We had to attack with full speed and violence, because of the danger of the beachhead the enemy had established in the Zapata Swamp. It was not the beachhead, the fact that it could be used for new landing attacks or to intensify the war. Then remember, our commander-in-chief on the Yaguaramas road to Playa morning with a column of tanks to tell the combat in heroism; our military firmness, a heroism

About 5:00 in the lead of our column and our troops had already

Prosecutor—Captain participation as a political

could

like you—as you have already said with reason that many other comrades have spoken at length about the action and have explained all the combat incidents—to explain something to the Court about the character of some of the members of that brigade, who, in addition to being mercenaries at this time, were previously traitors to the Revolution.

Witness—Very well. I told you in the beginning, I told the Court here in the beginning, that we knew that imperialism would find Cuban traitors to execute the aggression they started.

These traitors were recruited from various classes of society, including different sectors of each class. There are latifundists, sugar mill owners, businessmen, that is, members of the bourgeoisie; there are soldiers of the tyranny there are declassed elements; and there are some traitors to the Revolution.

I can explain it, it's very simple; in reality they were no revolutionaries who had betrayed this Revolution. It was not as in other revolutions that a revolutionary has betrayed the revolution. Here such a thing did not exist. Here those who betrayed the Revolution were those who joined the fight against Batista because of its character, but who could never be called revolutionaries. We have, for example, a case that we can analyze; that is, the case of Artime.

Artime has the highest rank, he is in the highest echelon of this type of traitor who betrayed the revolution after it attained power. Artime is not a revolutionary. Artime is one of the most reactionary individuals I have ever known, as revealed in his statements, his testimony, the contacts he says he has, and the type of people those contacts are. I can tell you that Artime is one of the most reactionary persons who has ever moved in Cuban politics.

Prosecutor—For example?

Witness—That is, in that brigade there are elements who we can say have betrayed the Rebel Army of which they were members and later betrayed it; elements that betrayed the 26th of July Movement because they were members of the 26th of July, and because they stole funds and because as the Revolution sharpened and deepened they did not agree with it, or for whatever reason, they withdrew from the 26th of July and the government and they betrayed the country, and left Cuba; but

there is no revolutionary who turned traitor in that brigade, just as there is no such revolutionary traitor in Cuba.

Prosecutor—Captain Aragonés, do you believe that all the members of the brigade were conscious of the fact that they were acting in the interests of a foreign power when they invaded Cuba?

Witness—I believe it can be said that all the members of the brigade were aware of the participation of imperialism. What happened was that almost all the members of the brigade, especially those who belonged to national bourgeoisie, that is, a bourgeoisie whose appendage of imperialism, because the nature of the Cuban bourgeoisie is just that, the nature of an appendage of imperialism.

In Cuba there was not what is called in other countries a national bourgeoisie, that is, a bourgeoisie whose interests at times clashed with the interests of imperialism, even though I believe that the development of the Cuban Revolution and the development of events in America have shown that there is no... I do not believe in the national bourgeoisie any more, nor in the role of the national bourgeoisie in any country, because I believe that in spite of their contradictions with imperialism, the Cuban Revolution will make them see that it is more dangerous to put themselves in the hands of the working class than in the hands of imperialism. But this Cuban bourgeoisie was an appendage of imperialism. I believe it shouldn't have been a surprise for any of them, nor should they have felt anything strange in coming here to fight alongside imperialism, since they were always at the service of imperialism.

Prosecutor—That is all, Mr. President.

President—Does the Defense wish to question the witness?

Defense—When you made this interpretation of the brigade's composition in reply to the Prosecutor's question, and in such a categorical manner stated that the members of the brigade were completely convinced of the participation of imperialism and that they were at the service of a foreign power, could you extend this analysis to all those who weren't part of this bourgeoisie to which you refer?

Witness—Look, the few that didn't form part of this bourgeoisie to which I refer are appendages of that

bourgeoisie. That is, the military men who sustained the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship, are the lumpen which lives from the handouts of the bourgeoisie whose prototype is Mr. Organvides who was before this Court.¹ As to the rest, I don't know if there could be any workers, I believe it is possible, perhaps the Court might have a record of such cases, but in general all of them are, to my way of thinking, aware that it was imperialism that commanded the brigade, which came to recover the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in Cuba, and I don't think you can establish great differences in this.

Defense—But, even though the differences are not great, we could talk about them for a moment, if the Court will permit. In relation to those same elements that you referred to, that were appendages of the appendage; a species of sub-appendages.

Witness—Sub-appendages?

Defense—That group of defendants could not have a degree of awareness similar to that of the bourgeoisie to which you referred, because the military elements serving the tyranny whom you've mentioned, also served the national bourgeoisie, and in an indirect manner served imperialism. Many of them were not aware that they were serving imperialism when they acted as members of the dictatorship. Is that your opinion or not?

Witness—Yes. Look, I believe that in reality all of them came to serve their own interests. The land owners, the sugar mill owners, the bankers, the mine owners, and the factory owners, to recover their properties; the lumpen, to recover the social atmosphere that permitted them to speculate with gambling, with drugs, with all those things eradicated by the Cuban Revolution; that is, each one came in his own way to defend his own interests, and those interests were closely tied to the imperialist domination of our country.

Defense—In this sense, full awareness that they were serving a foreign power was not a direct influence—this can be correctly said only in the case of the bourgeoisie. In the other elements it would be an indirect influence.

¹ See the accounts made by the mercenary and CIA agent, Pablo Organvides, on page 145.

Witness—It is possible that differences can be established.

Defense.—Even with that, we would like to make this clear in relation to the question that the Prosecutor asked about their complete awareness of serving a foreign power, because in regard to the participation of imperialism, we have shown throughout questioning that they, the defendants, took it upon themselves to say that imperialism prepared and financed the expedition.

What we would like to establish is the difference between what the Prosecutor asked you, concerning their complete awareness of serving a foreign power, and the other thing, that they knew that imperialism had prepared it.

Witness—The question is quite relative. I believe that in reality there are defendants here who are not fully aware of their actions, but it is one thing to know that imperialism prepared it, paid for it, and that the tanks were Sherman's.

President—Witness, that is a subjective answer. You said that many of the defendants were not fully aware of their actions. Who are these defendants?

Witness—I am referring specifically to the Defense Counsel's question about the "lumpen" who were there among the members of the brigade, and of whom I said that they were not fully aware of the role they were playing from a political point of view. I believe, as I said before, that they came here to defend their interests, to fight against our revolution, which had taken away their means of a livelihood, their means of speculation, their means of continuing to live off the sale of drugs, gambling, the exploitation of women, etc.

President—Then they were aware of what they came for?

Witness—They were aware of what they came for without being aware of the political problems. That is what I've been saying.

President—You may continue.

Defense—It is not that we are trying to produce confusion in the witness' words, but we want to get a detailed account of the facts. It is very important to know

the defendant's responsibility when passing a just sentence, to know the degree of awareness existing in the commission of the crime that is attributed to him; and if the witness mentions the bourgeoisie's full responsibility, (as seen) in its awareness of having submitted itself to a foreign power, it is necessary for the Attorney for the Defense to point out that there are defendants in that brigade who are not correctly referred to in the brief of the Official Investigator as belonging to that national bourgeoisie.

Witness—I believe that that is in accord with the functions of the Defense Attorney. I can answer the Defense Attorney in the following manner: I cannot give a very valuable judicial opinion concerning the degree of guilt, but as an army man, as a political person, and as a revolutionary, I believe that the degree of guilt here is greater in the cases of those who are more dangerous to the Revolution. That is my opinion.

President—Are there any further questions?

Defense—No, no further questions.

President—Mr. Prosecutor, do you have any further questions?

Prosecutor—The prosecution is satisfied, Mr. President.

President—The witness may retire.

Testimony of

CAPTAIN OSMANI CIENFUEGOS GORRIARAN

Prosecutor—Captain Osmani Cienfuegos, instead of asking a concrete question, I would like to ask you... I recall that you helped Primer Minister Fidel Castro with the explanation he made to the people of Cuba on television about all the details of the mercenary invasion—I would like to ask you to relate to the Court, in a general way, the development of the actions.

Witness—Well, the witness who have preceeded me have told, in part, about the actions as they developed at Playa Girón and Playa Larga. We were at Headquarters at the time the aggression took place, and from the beginning Headquarters analyzed what was being attempted with that aggression which had been made against our country and our Revolution.

We realized immediately what it was they were attempting by the special characteristics of the territory they had occupied. They had occupied a part of our territory with the topographical conditions for establishing a permanent base from which they could harass our country.

At that time the difficulties that were presented topographically for penetrating into that operational zone allowed Headquarters, in spite of everything and in view of the analysis of the operations that had been developed to defend that territory, to begin the immediate penetration of that zone through three points of access, that is, through the Australia Sugar Mill, San Blas, and through the southern coast, by way of Cienfuegos.

We immediately sent troops to those three places, and the intention of the mercenary troops to shut off access to that place was immediately blocked by the presence of revolutionary troops, which at first did not have the resources

to defend that territory, that is, at first they could not send the batteries that arrived later on.

But it is necessary to point out how through the instructions, through the orders that Headquarters issued, our rebel troops and militia penetrated that zone and managed, in spite of the natural obstacles of the terrain, to penetrate that zone and to permit our batteries to be taken there so they could occupy the whole territory later.

When Girón fell, we found there the operational plans that had been prepared in the Pentagon, and actually the maps coincided with the analysis that had been made at Headquarters of what they had attempted to do in that territory. Those operational plans were to isolate a piece of Cuban territory so that they could harass our country from there, so that they could bomb our cities from there, so that they could attack our troops as they went to defend this territory.

In the operational plans that were taken at Playa Girón there appeared plans for the future harassment of nearby cities; that is, they wanted to use that territory, and the airport that had been built there by the Revolution, to up a base of operations from which airplanes would bomb our highways, bomb nearby cities, bomb the troops that would come to defend that territory.

Those operational plans contained not only the strategy for occupying that territory, they contemplated the later harassment of our cities by those mercenary troops and planes. Those operational plans included not only the occupation of that territory so as to harass our Revolution, but also included in those plans were the bombing and destruction of our cities to guarantee [the defense of] that territory. In the operational plans taken at Playa Girón was the analysis, supposedly made by the Pentagon, of the characteristics of that territory, as well as an analysis of the characteristics of our troops. That's right, it was supposedly an analysis of our troops.

In this analysis the Pentagon estimated that at least 30% of the population would immediately join the mercenary troops. This analysis also included the number of airplanes our people had to defend themselves with.

What the mercenaries said here when they were captured, about Cuba being defended by Czechs and Chinese, was absolutely false. It was absolutely false, and the leaders of the Playa Girón operation knew perfectly well that we did not have any MIG's here.

Those operational plans included our air force; and furthermore, there was that treacherous attack that had been made on our airports two days before the Playa Girón invasion.

The idea was brought up here by the mercenaries, including the leaders of the mercenary brigade, that they thought we had MIGs. Furthermore all those leaders of the operation knew what troops we had through the information in the operational plan; they supposed that a part of the population was going to join the mercenary attack. But they knew perfectly well that there were no Chinese here defending our national territory.

Those mercenaries knew, because many of them had left a short time before, that our territory is defended by Cubans with their weapons in their hands; the mercenary troops knew we were not going to need any foreign troops to defend our territory; the mercenary troops knew that the rebel soldiers and militiamen would defend our territory; the mercenaries knew perfectly well that our people had sworn to defend our country to the death. They were aware of that.

And when Playa Girón was taken, when the territory was in the hands of the people again, the whole mercenary brigade, the brigade in its entirety, had a cowardly attitude.

That brigade was not there in a military attitude. That brigade did not have a disciplined attitude, none of the members of that brigade showed any courage. All the members of the brigade showed a cowardly attitude, the entire brigade showed a cowardly attitude, the entire brigade showed absolute repentance, the entire brigade continuously repeated the phrase "I was sold down the river." All the "gentlemen" of the brigade claimed they had been "sold down the river."

When anyone questioned them, almost all the "gentle-

men" of this brigade said they had come as cook, that they had not fired a shot. There has never been a military unit that had as many cooks as that brigade, in which they said they had never fired a shot. Almost all of them came as cooks. That cowardice was demonstrated later by the number of prisoners who are present today—a brigade of 1400 men, where there are 1200 prisoners; a brigade that occupied a part of our national territory with the support of imperialism, and that did not have the minimum amount of courage to attempt to defend that territory; a brigade in which not one battalion leader has died in combat; a brigade whose battalion and company leaders are all here as prisoners; a brigade which did not know how to die because it had nothing to die for, because it had no ideals to defend.

In that brigade there at Playa Girón, we could see latifundists, we could see the sons of politicians who stole the people's money, of politicians who had held government posts, who had stolen the people's money, who had not built houses, who had not built hospitals, while—because of a lack of hospitals—many of the children of the mercenaries here today died. In that brigade were the owners of sugar mills; in that brigade were also the social lumpen who have always been exploited; that brigade was not only "sold down the river," as they said, by Yankee imperialism, it was also "sold down the river" by those who led the brigade, who did know the plan of operations, which the Pentagon had given them at the last minute. They didn't know—that is, the rest of the brigade, the majority of the brigade—where they were going to land, what the plan of operations was, what was intended; they were brought here mechanically as instruments of imperialism, although they were aware that they were instruments of imperialism. Only a group, the leaders of the brigade, knew what the plan of operations was, what was in store. They were brought here men who supposedly came to die and who didn't have the dignity to maintain their position, to defend their supposed ideals, their supposed ideals of "free enterprise," who came to take back what belonged to the people, what our people have won with great bloodshed through many years, what our people successfully defended at Playa Girón, what our

people will always hold on to, on every occasion that we are attacked.

The leaders of this mercenary brigade didn't even have the morale to lead the men who came in the brigade—men who came to take back what the people had won, who came to take back their land, who came to take back their labor unions through which they had stolen, who came to take back their sugar mills through which they had exploited the people for so many years. This brigade included a number of men who had belonged to the army of the Batista dictatorship, and who had participated in crimes against our people. It included men who were against the Batista dictatorship because it had killed our people, and who now came to kill our people, not under the instructions of Batista, but under the instructions of Yankee imperialism.

They thought our people would surrender to this mercenary brigade. They thought that the U. S. Air Force which for many days kept them hoping it was going to support them, that the U.S. Air Force, that U. S. military power, could make our people submit to that attack. What these plans of imperialism did not take into consideration, what these operational plans—which were found in Spanish and English, to the disgrace of the mercenaries—did not tell it was our people's decision to occupy that territory that they were so fleetingly to hold; that if our whole air force had been destroyed, that if that entire territory had been occupied, that if the three accesses to that battlefield through the marshes of the Zapata Swamp had been occupied, our militiamen, the heroic members of our Rebel Army, would have penetrated, would have occupied that area, they would have defended it with their own blood, with all the strength, all the courage, all the ideals that a people have when they defend a just cause... not the ideals of "free enterprise", not the ideals of the latifundia, not the ideals of the ex-batistianos, not the ideals of the real estate owners, not the ideals of the gamblers, not the ideals of the traitors to the Revolution! These men couldn't defend anything, because they didn't have any ideals. That is why a brigade which held a piece of land which would have allow-

ed them to defend that territory for many days, is prisoner here. When they were taken prisoner there at Playa Girón they all said they had been "sold down the river", that they had been deceived. This was a brigade in which not even one battalion leader was killed in combat, not even by mistake; a brigade under the command of former soldiers of the dictatorship; a brigade made up of latifundists, real estate owners, batistianos, of crooks, of the sons of corrupt politicians; a brigade that said it had been "sold down the river"; a cowardly brigade that didn't know how to defend itself; a brigade that represents interests which are against the interest of the people; a brigade which merits and which has already received the punishment of our people; a brigade whose fate was to have 1,200 men out of a brigade of 1,400 taken prisoner, because they didn't have the minimum courage to give their lives, their cowardly lives...

Attorney for the Defense — Mr. President, I wish to ask the Court to require the witness to limit his testimony in regard to personal accusations, since on other occasions the Court has called this to the attention of witnesses.

President — The witness may proceed; the witness has not made any accusation of a personal nature, he may proceed.

Witness — Well, I prefer to be questioned.

Prosecutor — Mr. President, the eloquence of the testimony of Captain Osmany Cienfuegos, which has brought out very clearly the characteristics of the invasion, the behavior of these "gentlemen", the knowledge they had that they were direct agents of the imperialist U. S. Government, the cowardice they showed when they were captured, and their later behaviour, is more than enough for the public prosecutor. For that reason we are not going to ask Captain Osmany Cienfuegos any questions, but rather simply tell him that if he wishes he may continue explaining to the Court all the opinions that he, a combatant at Girón and a revolutionary, has formed concerning the treacherous invasion of Playa Girón.

President — The witness may proceed.

Witness — Well, I only want to point out the very different attitude of this mercenary brigade, which not only did not know how to die, but didn't even know how to defend the interests it had come after here; which even betrayed the interests it had come after, because the "big shots" who stayed there in Miami, the "big shots" that represented the real interest, the interests of our bourgeoisie and the interests of Yankee imperialism, didn't even know how to defend those interests.

I want to point out here the very different attitude, the very different courage, the heroic valor of our militiamen, who did know how to die, who did know how to defend their country, who one day did go to the mountains to seek liberty, not to maintain a system of theft, a system of pillage, a system of latifundia, but rather a liberty such as we have today, liberty without the exploitation of man by man. I want to point out the attitude of those heroic rebel soldiers, those militiamen who later fought the counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray Mountains, those militiamen who went to Playa Girón to defend our Socialist Revolution, our Socialist Revolution which was proclaimed a few days before, at the burial of our comrades who were killed at the airports by mercenary planes. I want to point out the difference in the attitude of those militiamen who displayed all their courage, who displayed all their nobility, who responded with all the strength our people needed to rout the invading brigade, Brigade 2506, the mercenary brigade that represented everything rotten, that represented the past, that represented Yankee imperialism. That is all I have to say.

President — Does the Defense wish to question further?

Defense — No, sir.

President — The witness may retire.

**Summations of the
attorney general
and the attorney
for the defense.**

**The Revolutionary Court
passes Sentence**

*The mercenaries, organized,
trained, and financed by
the Yankee imperialists are
guilty of the crime
of treason to their country*

SUMMATION OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC DR. JOSE SANTIAGO CUBA

Prosecutor — Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Court.

This trial is of extraordinary importance. The people of Cuba feel that it is not only the defendants, but also the imperialist Government of the United States, in its character of instigator, organizer, and author of the perfidious aggression, in whose interests the mercenary traitors were acting primarily, in invading their country, that is on trial.

Since the first of January, 1959, when the people of Cuba became the owners of their own destiny and proclaimed their sovereignty and independence to the world, the imperialist Government of the United States has initiated constant hostile attacks, culminating in the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón.

It was evident that those aggressions followed the interventionist purposes of the imperialist Government of the United States determined to reverse by any means, the extraordinary event which the historic victory won by our people, represents for America.

The exceptional importance of this trial is determined, in addition, by the precious lives of patriots who heroically sacrificed themselves in defense of the sacred right of our people to maintain their independence and to build a new society, by the deaths of peasants and children murdered by the shrapnel dropped on them by foreign airplanes accompanying the mercenary brigade, by the incalculable riches and resources that were destroyed, by the fact of the overwhelming defeat at Playa Girón, by the surrender of almost all members of the mercenary brigade, by the seizure of the military equipment —U.S.

made tanks, guns, bazookas— and by the voluntary and spontaneous appearance on our national radio and T. V. of the first mercenaries captured by the Militia and the Rebel Army, revealing to America and to the world the intervention of U. S. imperialism. This was the first great defeat of Yankee imperialism in America. This is the reason for the outstanding importance of this trial.

Through the incontrovertible proof coming out of this trial—and President Kennedy's confession of U. S. Governmental participation in the armed aggression against Cuba—the Latin American peoples can draw an accurate conclusion as to the real design cloaking the so-called "Alliance for Progress" offered them by the imperialist government and the perfidy and hypocrisy, the brutal imposition that characterize the policy of the U. S. Government in its relations with the Latin American peoples.

What motivations have pushed United States imperialism into its constant, wanton career of aggressions against our people, culminating in the armed attack against our island by a mercenary brigade?

The motivations for those aggressions could be nothing else but the same motivations that have determined and still determine the predatory policies of United States imperialism, which features the relations between the colonial power and the countries under its influence. It is a known fact that the only foreign policy known by imperialism is the subjugation of weak countries.

The Yankee imperialists intended to re-establish the domination of their monopolies in our country—to bring us back to the status of a one-crop country, an exporter of cheap raw materials and importer of high priced U. S. manufactured goods—to reduce us anew to the condition of a semi-colony, an instrument of its international policy of world domination.

In the name of what principles does imperialism vest itself with the right to intervene in our affairs? In the name of what right does it dare to launch a mercenary attack against our people, if not in the name of a pirate right, as correctly termed in our Second Declaration of Havana?

HISTORY OF THE AGGRESSIONS

The history of this continent for more than a century has been the history of the aggressions of U. S. imperialism against the peoples of Latin America and the struggles of these countries to save themselves from its vassalage.

What country in America has not received the blow of the imperialist paw?

Who could forget the many aggressions perpetrated by the imperialists against Mexico, snatching its best lands—Texas and California? Who could forget the aggressions against the Dominican Republic and Haiti, which were occupied by the marines to collect debts contracted by the governments of these countries with private Yankee banking concerns?

How can we not remember that they left in power the satrap and murderer, Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, who served their interests for more than three decades, brutally and bloodily repressing all demonstration of opposition on the part of his people?

How can we forget the Nicaraguan patriots, led by Sandino, who offered heroic resistance to the marines when they occupied his country?

How can we forget that Panama's sovereignty has been crushed in the Canal Zone? How can we forget the hypocritical way in which they intervened in Cuba at the end of the last century to prevent our country's victory and to impose upon us their vassalage and exploitation by means of the Platt Amendment, through which they vested themselves with the right to intervene in our country, as in fact they did? How can we not remember that in 1933 they again intervened to prevent the liberation of our people and to save the oligarchical regime, scoffing at the sacrifice represented by the many years of struggle conducted by our people against the tyrant Machado, agent of imperialism? And more recently, how can we forget that it was United States imperialism that favored the March 10th *coup d'état* that placed the tyrant Batista in power for the second time? How can we forget the military aid and all other kinds of aid given him [Batista] to continue enriching himself, exploiting, oppressing, and murdering the sons of this country? And what is it doing at

present in Nicaragua, Paraguay, Perú, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Colombia, and Panamá, but maintaining, supporting, and defending the tyrants and their traitorous military cliques, betrayers of their peoples and sequesterers of their rights and freedoms? And just recently, is it not easy to see the hand of imperialism in the overthrow of Frondizi in Argentina and the breaking of relations with Cuba by Ecuador?

And besides, where on earth, regardless of how far from United States territory, did or does a country fighting for its freedom not have to face the U. S. imperialist Government, which has taken upon itself the hateful and sad role of gendarme for international reaction? All over the world, Yankee imperialists are supporting the most corrupt interests. Thus, we see them giving full support to the fascist clique and preventing a peaceful settlement in the far-off land of Laos—in South Vietnam, giving military support to the tyrant Ngo-Dinh-Diem with United States soldiers and equipment—they have even installed a military garrison in Saigon to co-operate in the maintenance of that unpopular regime against the patriot guerrillas. In Taiwan, territory of China, we see them co-operating in maintaining the ridiculous government of Chiang Kai Shek by the force of the Seventh Fleet. Wasn't it only recently that they participated in murdering Lumumba, national hero of the Congo?

This trial shows—if it could be necessary—that the imperialist Government of the United States, tearing up the principles, covenants and international treaties it has signed, is grossly violating the sovereignty of an independent nation in its vain, impossible attempt to reverse a historically irreversible event, the Cuban Revolution, and its significance in the struggle for the liberation of the Latin American countries.

BACKGROUND OF THE ARMED AGGRESSION

To analyze and classify these events, the Prosecution considers it necessary to recount the events leading to an armed invasion. And in doing so, we shall be able to prove the following:

First: The reiterated permanent design of the impe-

rialist Government of the United States to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs in order to restore its political power and the economic power of its monopolies. Second: That this aggression assumed many forms, ranging from politics to economics and accompanied by vandalism, terrorism, and sabotage against our people. All of this culminated in the invasion of our national territory by a mercenary brigade. Third: That by blackmail in some cases, intimidation in others, and with the solidarity of exploiting and anti-democratic interests in all cases, some Latin American governments became accomplices of the aggressive policies of the imperialist Government of the United States. Fourth: That the defendants present [in Court], with their criminal conduct in invading our national territory, were consciously serving the aggressive plans of the imperialist Government of the United States toward the people of Cuba, their sovereignty and independence.

POLITICAL AGGRESSION

The political aggression began, as we all remember, with the campaign of slander and falsehood launched by the U. S. press and news agencies against the exemplary justice with which the Cuban people exacted payment for their crimes from the criminals who had served the tyranny, criminals who had violated the most elementary forms of human behavior and murdered more than twenty thousand of their countrymen. These same agencies that kept silent to protect the murderers when the crimes were committed, resorted to slander in defense of the murderers when they were tried. The aim of this campaign was to turn Latin American public opinion against the Revolutionary Government, to create a hostile atmosphere, to destroy the sympathy and attraction that the Cuban Revolution had awakened among all the peoples of America.

Its aim was to prepare the conditions through international intrigue and blackmail, for isolating the Revolutionary Government and, finally, for undertaking armed aggression against Cuba.

It would take too long to detail the endless series of stories and slanders fed to the world by U. S. news agencies. Our people remember them perfectly well.

And subsequently, when acting in self-defense in

accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Cuban Government accepted the aid offered by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics **in the event of an aggression**, the government of our country was accused of violating the Charter of the Organization of American States. And with the complicity of their lackeys on the Continent, the imperialist Government of the United States, through its Secretary of State, proposed political and economic sanctions, and the breaking of diplomatic relations with Cuba at the seventh Conference of Foreign Ministers held in San José. This was duly answered by the First Declaration of Havana.

ECONOMIC AGGRESSION

With reference to economic aggression, everyone knows that under the pretext of the Revolutionary Government's purchasing of oil from the USSR, by which Cuba saved more than **twenty million dollars**, the imperialist oil concerns operating in our country conspired to choke the nation's life-line by depriving it of the fuel essential for its economic activities. The correct steps taken by our government and the quick aid of the Government of the USSR, which brought Cuba the necessary oil, destroyed the plot. Immediately after this, the imperialist Government of the United States first reduced and later cancelled the Cuban sugar quota in the U. S. market. This step was taken unilaterally in violation of our historical rights in that market and constituted a flagrant economic aggression, as set forth in international law. Finally, they imposed an embargo on our import-export trade in order to deprive Cuba of food, medicines, and machinery. The seriousness of this last aggression can be measured by considering the fact that the Cuban economy had been so deformed that ninety-five percent of our imports came from the U. S. and eighty-five percent of our exports went there.

VANDALISM

As to the vandalism, sabotage, and terrorism perpetrated by Yankee imperialism against our people, it would be a tedious, endless task to list all of this. It would be enough to mention the systematic burning of sugar cane

fields during the 1959 and 1960 harvests by dropping inflammable materials from planes which always came "from the North", which freely entered and left U. S. territory in spite of the powerful radar system established there. Who doesn't remember the bombing of the city of Havana during the [American Society of Travel Agents] ASTA Convention, with a balance of many of our countrymen maimed, wounded, and killed? Our Government continuously advised the U. S. imperialist Government that the attacking planes came from its territory. However, they stubbornly denied it. Three planes with U. S. registration were shot down in different places during their raids over our territory. Other planes coming from the same place bombed our sugar mills. There was the case of the bombing of the España Sugar Mill, where the attacking plane was downed and documents found on the dead body of the pilot proved his U. S. citizenship. How can we forget the sabotage of the S. S. La Coubre, with its balance of scores of Cubans and a number of French workers killed in addition to great material losses!

ACCUSATION BEFORE THE U. N.

All this harassment, where the hand of the imperialist U. S. Government was quite evident, was denounced by the Cuban Government before the United Nations Security Council, presenting undeniable proofs of U. S. participation. While denouncing the continuous aggressions, the Cuban Government reiterated its willingness to discuss freely all existing differences with the U. S. Government, to solve them peacefully, on a basis of equality and full respect for our sovereignty. What was the answer of the U. S. imperialist Government? With its habitual hypocrisy it denied its participation in the sabotage and terrorism, notwithstanding the known fact that the attacking planes had U. S. registration, that the U. S. registration, that the U. S. citizenship of the pilots was duly established. It denied having any aggressive intent towards Cuba. This hypocritical and perfidious attitude was cynically maintained when our military airports were bombed on April 15th, 1961, in the first phase of the armed invasion of Playa Girón. Their boldness led them to state that the attacks were carried out by Cuban Air Force pilots who

had revolted against their government. This was the same crooked and hypocritical policy that was demonstrated right after the crushing of the invasion when the U. S. Delegate to the U. N. denied his government's responsibility, to be given the lie by President Kennedy's acknowledgement of his personal participation in the planning of the armed invasion of Cuba. This was stated in a White House release dated April 25th, 1961, which read: **"President Kennedy has stated from the beginning that as President he bears full responsibility for the events of past days. He has stated this on all occasions and he restates it now so that it will be understood by all. The President is strongly opposed to anyone within or without the Administration attempting to shift the responsibility"**.

THOSE RECRUITED BY IMPERIALISM

If the U. S. imperialist Government had unsuccessfully tried political aggression, economic aggression, vandalism, sabotage, and terrorism in order to subdue our people and submit them anew to its vassalage, what other type of aggression could it carry out against the Cuban nation but the invasion of its territory with mercenary armed troops?

And who could be used better than the groups of Cubans that belonged to the former oligarchy of landowners, "big shots" in industry and banking, corrupt politicians, embezzlers, ex-army officers and their henchmen, scoundrels and murderers who served the Batista tyranny, and who, from abroad, were champing at their vicious hatred for their people?

And would it not be much better this way, so that the U. S. Government would not appear directly responsible and would avoid the international repercussions and responsibilities stemming from its action? And what scruples could stay this group of Cuban outcasts who had been selling out the Cuban nationality for sixty years, prostituting our culture, and surrendering our wealth and riches for plundering by that same imperialism, betraying our heroic traditions of freedom?

What were the interests uniting them? They were united by common interests based on the fact that U. S.

imperialism, as well as the big industrialists, the big businessmen, the smart politicians, the large landowners, the military clique, the Pharisee religious leaders, all of them, were parasites who had been clinging to the social body of our country and sucking its blood for over sixty years. They had been taking advantage of the nation's efforts, of the productive labor of our workers and peasants. They were united by class hatred. They were united by the fact that imperialism and the local oligarchy together maintained the country in backwardness, underdevelopment. They were united by the fact that they all lived off the people's misery. They were united by the fact that imperialism, in its present method of domination, neo-colonialism, does not necessarily have to use its own armed forces in the subjugated country; it is enough for it to have at its command those controlled by the parasitic social group. Imperialism arms, teaches, and trains them, while the imperialist forces are kept behind the lines, as reserves in the event those of the oligarchy are not enough to repress any popular action endangering their interest. That is, the common interest of exploitation, the common interest of oppression, the common interest of repression, which united them both, imperialism and the Cuban oligarchy, before the Revolution, is the same common interest that unites them now in disgrace, when both of them have been swept away for good by the Revolution.

Whom did U. S. imperialism make direct use of to maintain its domination of Cuba? The big latifundists, the businessmen, the industrial bourgeoisie and their mercenary press, their mercenary priests, their mercenary army. And whom did the latifundists, businessmen, and the industrial oligarchy use to crush the people when they rebelled but the imperialist forces? Then how could we be surprised that now they are united in the same common dirty work they have always performed together?

PREPARATIONS

Let us proceed, gentlemen of the Court, to analyze all the proofs, which are authentic demonstrations of the actions constituting the serious crime charged by the prosecution. In all crimes, as is well known by the members of the

Court, we must distinguish between the preparation and the execution of the action. First, we shall refer to the preparation, citing just a small part of the plentiful evidence on record for the enlightenment of the Court. We know that the proofs mentioned in the proceedings (equipment, weapons, etc.) and the documentary evidence (operational plans of the mercenary brigade, maps, maritime charts, report on the organization of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, organizational chart of the brigade, documents dealing with the organization of the so-called Revolutionary Democratic Front and its members, list of training camps, and so forth) will be carefully examined in due time by this Court. All these proofs have been shown to the Cuban people and have corroborated the events we are going to refer to.

On March 18th, 1960, a group of Cuban exiles, most of them ex-army men who had served the tyranny, were taken to Useppan Island, off Fort Meyers, Florida. There was a total of sixty-one men.

Among those in the first group were the brothers José and Roberto Pérez San Román. The initial group was later divided. Some of them remained at Useppan Island to take a course in radio communications, and the other group went to Panamá to be trained in guerrilla warfare. Several bases were established to this end.

Once it finished its training course, the group which had remained at Useppan Island went to the Helvetia Farm in Guatemala, where they established the Trax training base. They began training in guerrilla warfare there under the direction of a Philippine whose last name was Vallejo. Later on, the group that had been in Panamá arrived at Trax Base.

By the end of 1960 there were close to 400 men at Trax Base, and a special group called Section Khad had been created, which was training in conventional warfare. There were about 100 men in that group. This section constituted the core of what later became the mercenary Assault Brigade 2506, which invaded our country on April 17th, 1961.

A training camp was also set up in Louisiana, U. S. A. Sixty men belonging to the group of traitor Nino Díaz were trained there. They were (later) transferred to Trax Base.

Once training in conventional warfare began, the trainees were divided into groups which were given specific training in aviation, naval operations, underwater demolition, tanks, and paratrooping, at different bases. Thus, in addition to those mentioned above, the following bases were used: **Naval Bases** - New Orleans in the U. S. A. and Vieques Island in Puerto Rico, (American colony); **Air Force Bases** Puerto Cabezas in Nicaragua, Retalhuleu in Guatemala, and Oppalocka, near Miami, U. S. A.; **Tank Base** - Norfolk, Virginia, U.S.A.; **Base for the demolition group** (also known as frogmen) - Vieques Island and Juloba Beach in Puerto Rico; **Paratroop Bases** (in addition to Trax Base) - Alson and Garrapatenango Bases, both in Guatemala.

MOST OF THE RECRUITING DONE IN THE U. S. A.

The existence of these bases can be proved with documents available to the Court and the statements of many of the defendants. They told where their respective bases were located.

Prisoner José Alonso Lamar admitted being trained in Vieques Island, Puerto Rico; prisoners Rodolfo Díaz, Jorge Alonso Pujol, and the Babum brothers were trained at Trax Base; prisoner José Martínez Suárez was at Retalhuleu. The Court will remember that the defendant Organvides, a CIA agent¹, described how the air attacks against Cuba had been launched from Puerto Cabezas and Oppalocka, in Nicaragua and the United States respectively.

And how were the men sent to training camps recruited? They were recruited in United States territory, mainly in Miami, New York, and other cities, and also in Guatemala, Panamá, and Venezuela. They were transported to their destination in U. S. C-54 military planes. The mercenary character of the brigade has been proved to this Court beyond any doubt by the statements made by the defendants, who have pointed out the channels, amounts, and source of the money they received, which in most cases was sent to their relatives. See the testimony of the accused Babum brothers —Joaquín, Santiago and Lincoln— Emilio

¹ See the accounts made by the mercenary Pablo Organvides, on page 145.

Ochoa and Jorge Alonso Pujol ¹, who give Miami as the place where they were recruited. See the testimony of Ulises Carbó ¹, who declared that he found many mercenaries in Guatemala who had been recruited in New York. Carbó also stated that everyone knew that through the CIA, the United States financed the insurrection both within Cuba and abroad.

Referring to the source of the money paid him for joining the mercenaries, which amounted to \$275 dollars a month, distributed as follows —\$175 dollars for his wife, \$50 dollars for his first child, \$25 dollars for the second child, and \$25 dollars for the third—José Martínez Suárez declared that the money came from the State Department through the "Revolutionary Democratic Front".

How was Brigade 2506 organized? As I have previously stated, "Section K" at Trax Base constituted the core of mercenary Brigade 2506.

Vallejo, the Philippine, was replaced as instructor in conventional warfare by an American known as "Frank", whose real name was William Freeman. The new instructor, following orders from the U. S. Government, selected about 60 men from the mercenaries at Trax Base. These were sent to Louisiana, U. S. A., to take a training course in "infiltration".

The first General Staff of the brigade was organized at Trax Base. José Pérez San Román was a member of the General Staff. During the training period the General Staff was reorganized several times.

In the first months of 1961, about 50 men arrived at Trax Base with the mission of carrying out civilian counter-intelligence activities. This was called "Operation 40". Their main task was to take over the records —after the triumph of the invasion— of the intelligence agencies of the Revolution, public buildings, and political and social organizations. They also had to organize a provisional police force and operate any industry which might be idle. Members of "Operation 40" had been recruited by Mr. Joaquín San Genís, acting chief of Civilian Intelligence, and were trained for a short while at a farm in Miami.

The main task of this "Operation 40" was changed

¹ See the accounts made by the mercenary Jorge Alonso Pujol and Ulises Carbó, on pages 157 and 115.

somewhat. Some of its members were taken for military intelligence.

Once the brigade had been organized, in addition to the American instructors, it received Polish, Russian, and Latin American instructors, but the Americans were always the bosses. If so much blood had not been spilled because of this mercenary invasion, it would be a laughing matter to hear the statements of some of the defendants who said they came under the misconception that our government and army were run by Russians, Poles, Czechs and other foreigners. However, those who made that statement accepted Russians and Poles as instructors - the bad Russians and Poles, fascists and traitors to their country, hirelings of American imperialism.

STRUCTURE OF THE BRIGADE

At the time of sailing from the different ports, the top leaders of the mercenary brigade were: Chief of the Brigade, José Alfredo Pérez San Román; Chief of Civilian Administration, Manuel Artime Buesa; Second in Command of the Brigade, Andrés Oliva; G-1 was headed by José Morales Cruz; G-2, José R. Varona González; G-3, Ramón Pérez Mena; G-4, Roberto Pertierra Raymat; G-5, José Andreu Santos; Chief of Battalion No. 1, Alejandro del Valle; Chief of Battalion No. 2, Hugo Sueiro; Chief of Battalion No. 3, Noelio Montero; Chief of Battalion No. 4, Valentín Bacallao; Chief of Battalion No. 5, Ricardo Montero; Chief of Battalion No. 6, Francisco Montiel; Chief of the Special Weapons Battalion, Roberto Pérez San Román.

The structure of the rest of the brigade is detailed in the captured organizational plans, which will be examined by the Court.

WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT

The mercenary fleet was composed of five merchant ships from the "García Lines" Steamship Co. They were the following:

The **Houston**, code name "**Aguja**".

The **Atlantic**, code name "**Tiburón**".

The **Rio Escondido**, code name "**Ballena**".

The **Caribe**, code name "**Sardina**".

The **Lake Charles**, code name "**Atún**".

In addition, there were two remodeled and armored

L.C.I.'s the **Blagar**, code name "**Marsopa**", an the **Barbara J.** code name "**Barracuda**". One of the L.C.I.'s was remodeled in Miami, Florida.

Three LCU landing barges, which transported 5 M-41 tanks and the armored trucks of the No. 4 armored battalion.

Four LCVP landing barges for troops, sixteen B-26 planes, eight C-46 planes, six C-54 planes, 5 M-41 Sherman tanks with 76 mm. cannons, 4.2 mortars, 75 mm. recoilless cannons, Garand rifles, M-1 carbines, pistols, and bazookas. Some of the weapons were seized by our Revolutionary Armed Forces and deposited at the General Staff of the Rebel Army. They are at the disposal of this court.

OPERATION PRELUDE

The Central Intelligence Agency prepared a secret invasion plan called "Operation Pluto", which included another plan for preparatory aggressions called "Operation Prelude", put into effect in the middle of 1960. One important step in the development of this "Operation Prelude" was the organization of the so-called Revolutionary Democratic Front, which united the main counterrevolutionary forces in exile. Brought together in it were representatives of the big industrialists and businessmen linked to the imperialists, such as B. Remedios and Abel Mestre; corrupt politicians such as Cándido Mora, Aureliano Sánchez Arango, and Tony Varona; exmembers of Batista's army such as San Román and Oliva; embezzlers such as Arttime; "shysters" such as Felipe Pazos and Miró Cardona; traitors to the Revolution such as Manuel Ray and Raúl Chibás; gamblers, numbers of racketeers, pimps, and drug peddlers of the worst sort.

The main goal in constituting a Cuban Government in exile was to establish it in the territory occupied by the mercenary brigade, so it could ask for the immediate intervention of the U. S. imperialist government. Needless to say, these "gentlemen" of the so-called Revolutionary Democratic Front had no power either to make decisions about the organization of the mercenary brigade or to decide on its plans. Its main function was to serve as a mask for the imperialist aggression against their country.

Implementing "Operation Prelude" in the second half

of 1960, agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, spies, provocateurs, and terrorists, were sent into Cuba clandestinely through the Guantánamo Naval Base, brought to Cuban territorial waters by submarines or parachuted from planes. They were entrusted with the mission of carrying out an extensive plan of sabotage and internal subversion which included the destruction of warehouses, places of business, sugar mills, transportation, etc. They also intended to organize a guerrilla front in the mountain ranges of the **Sierra Maestra, Sierra del Escambray, and Cordillera de los Organos**, as well as to obtain information about Cuban military defenses. This plan for espionage and subversion also failed due to the effective and permanent vigilance of the people through the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution and the vigilance of the workers and farmers in production centers. However, in some cases, agents of the CIA succeeded in the criminal destruction of important commercial centers such as **La Epoca** and **El Encanto** department stores, the warehouse for the **Hershey Sugar Mill**, and some farms and agricultural cooperatives.

On the other hand, the combined efforts of the National Revolutionary Militia, the Rebel Army, and the National Revolutionary Police quickly and efficiently destroyed the guerrilla fronts the CIA was trying to organize in the provinces of Oriente and Pinar del Río and captured the groups placed in the Escambray Mountains by U. S. imperialism. On each occasion the Revolutionary Armed Forces captured large amounts of weapons of all types (U. S. -made guns, mortars, bazookas, rifles, and large amounts of ammunition). These had been dropped in the Escambray area by the U. S. Air Force. The Revolutionary Government exhibited these weapons for the world to see as proof of the despicable Yankee aggression.

Shortly before the date set for the armed invasion, the last steps of "Operations Prelude" were taken. A number of activities were carried out with the aim of diverting the attention of our Armed Forces. On many occasions, U. S. made planes violated our air space for this purpose and for observation purposes. U. S. Navy surface units and submarines carried out unbelievable provocations, brazenly concentrating in our territorial waters.

Finally, in the early morning of Saturday, April 15th,

1961, at 06:00, to be exact, airplanes coming from the United States carried out a treacherous attack against the Cuban cities of Santiago de Cuba, San Antonio de los Baños, and Havana. They caused many casualties, dead and wounded, among combatants as well as among the civilian population, and great damage to public installations and private homes. The enemy was forced to withdraw because of the fire of our anti-aircraft batteries, which caused great damage to the attacking air force.

THE INVASION

At 02:30 on the morning of April 17th, 1961, Mercenary Brigade 2506 began landing on the southern coast of Las Villas Province, in the Zapata Swamp, coming from Puerto Cabezas, Republic of Nicaragua. It was composed of some 1500 men. The invasion plan called for landing at 3 points in the Zapata Swamp: Playa Larga, whose code name was "Playa Roja", where the "Aguja" would land; Playa Giron whose code name was "Playa Azul", where a landing would take place from the "Ballena" and "Tiburón"; and Caleta Verde Inlet, whose code name was "Playa Verde", where the "Marsopa", "Barracuda", and "Atún" would unload. In the meantime the paratroop battalion was to occupy positions north of Playa Girón and Playa Larga, around San Blas and Soplillar, to block roads leading to the landing and operations zones, —which was to be isolated and fortified in order to set up a provisional government there—to initiate and develop a war of exhaustion, and to secure such conditons as to facilitate the direct intervention of the imperialist Government of the United States of America.

We are not going to bore the Court with a detailed description of the military operations. Mercenary Brigade 2506 landed at Playa Girón and Playa Larga after overcoming the resistance offered by small units of the National Revolutionary Militia. The brigade landed its tanks and dropped the paratroop battalion north of Girón in order to block the highway leading to the Australia Sugar Mill. Sixteen B-26's escorted by U. S. fighter planes began to bomb the area, strafing unarmed women and children, destroying entire towns and causing great damage. U. S.

Navy ships, two destroyers and an aircraft carrier among them, stood-by very close to the battle zone.

Fighting courageously, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, composed of the National Revolutionary Militia, the Rebel Army, and the National Revolutionary Police, crushed the attempted invasion by Mercenary Brigade 2506 in sixty-four hours. Almost all members of the brigade were captured, large amounts of weapons and equipment were captured, their tanks destroyed or captured, and their air force almost entirely downed. As Major Fidel Castro said, "that day yankee imperialism suffered its first great defeat in America".

As a conclusion to this brief recounting of the operations, I ask this court to permit me to refer to the testimonies and statements of the defendants themselves, which show the state of mind in which the members of Brigade 2506 gave up. It is very important that this be pointed out as some of their top leaders tried to adopt a ridiculous and arrogant attitude which is entirely out of order for an army which saw over ninety per cent of its members captured.

Major Fernández, one of the witnesses who testified in this trial, has stated that it was logical and normal to expect a higher percentage of casualties. He was surprised by the fact that not a single officer of that brigade—not even a battalion leader had died in combat.

This was a brigade, gentlemen of the Court, that did not fight. It was a brigade, that was the best equipped mercenary army ever launched against a country in America, trained by U.S. instructors, escorted by U.S. battle ships, and supported by U. S. aircraft in the battle zone, but which at the first blow of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, decided not to fight.

And this is understandable, because one fights when one has ideals. One does not fight when coming to recover riches or position, because if one loses one's life in battle, riches have no value and position will give no solace. It is here that we should look for the roots of the mercenary brigade's lack of combativeness. This is the reason why the prisoners—and first and foremost the officers of the brigade—denounced imperialism as the organizer of the invasion as soon as they surrendered to the revolutionary armed forces and said they all repented.

ARTIME'S LETTER

The state of demoralization of the brigade and its leaders when they were captured is reflected better than anywhere else in the letter that was written by the chief of the brigade, San Román, or the one written by Mr. Artime, who filled something like 20 sheets of paper, single spaced. In those documents, as the gentlemen of the Court will see, they did not discuss any objective program, they simply admitted defeat.

It is possible that at that time—their ears still ringing with the sound of cannons and bazookas, the death scene of which they had been the cause, still in their memory, and impressed by the heroism demonstrated by our combatants—they had had a moment of sincerity and reflection, and at that moment produced the letters.

They are the ones who admitted in their letters that they might die and that they feared death, and at that moment, in a sudden impulse of sincerity, they denounced the participation of imperialism, they admitted the role they had played as instruments of imperialism in coming. Later, some of them remained silent in this trial.

There is no doubt that this apparently vainglorious pose did nothing but conceal their lack of a cause to fight for. When they had a reason to express something, when they had something to say, they said it; when they did not, they remained silent, and that explains the silence that some of them maintained. As far as the man who led the brigade is concerned, his own buddies stated that he had abandoned his command. And there are many statements here which the defendants wrote at the time saying that they all thought he had abandoned his command. There is, for example, the letter which San Román sent his father telling ironically how the second-in-command of the brigade—Mr. Oliva—had left with excessive speed to deliver an order to the rearguard. This was said by Mr. Oliva's comrade-in-arms.

The defendants, in the first place, and the gentlemen of the court, know perfectly well that everything read here is true. I am sure that no one has the slightest doubt of it, but if there could be any doubt, there is Mr. San Román's reaction in yesterday's session, when he jumped

to his feet and interrupted the trial in order to say that the second-in-command had demanded that the order he referred to be written.

That shows the demoralization of those troops; that shows why they did not fight, why they surrendered, and why at first they assumed the attitude of denouncing imperialism without mincing words.

THEY ACCUSED EACH OTHER

I imagine that some of the defendants felt terribly embarrassed when their appearances on television were reproduced here. There were some who confined themselves more or less to their defense, but there were others who, even at the time when only 70 or 100 members of the brigade were prisoners, spoke on television and gave data that the revolutionary forces were able to use in effecting a speedier capture of their other buddies, whom they should have supposed were still fighting.

I was not dealing only with the prisoners who admitted defeat and recognized their guilt, but those —like Mr. Artime— who did not at that time hesitate to accuse others, including individuals in the counterrevolutionary underground here in Cuba. That is not the behaviour of leaders.

It is difficult to make this comparison, but I cannot resist the temptation to say that when Fidel Castro was tried for the attack on Moncada, isolated from all his companions, in conditions where no legal guarantees existed, surrounded by bayonets of the Batista army, not permitted to communicate with anybody or to have access to books or study materials, he gave a historic speech in court where he made a powerful defense of the objectives for which he was fighting.

Before the Leipzig Court, Georgei Dimitrov, Bulgarian Communist, accused together with his party of setting fire to the Reichstag, defended the political line of the Communist Party and the International and denounced the fascist judges who were trying him. He did not worry about what his fate would be.

And without bringing up all comparisons, how many Cuban boys in a police station — in the hands of Ventura, of Carratalá, or any other murderer of the tyranny, until

the end, when giving their lives for the cause — did so shouting, "Long Live the Revolution"? How many of these anonymous boys disagreed with the Summary Court of the tyranny, proclaiming their true revolutionary position not retracting one single word, and, at times in unpolished words, because they did not have much preparation or education, fearlessly and courageously stated their truth before the Court?

A HEROIC EXAMPLE

That is what the revolutionaries did, because they were in the right, because they had an ideology, because they had motives for fighting.

And in comparison with the invading troops, I would also like to say some words about our heroic combatants, about our comrades in the Rebel Army, in the National Revolutionary Police and the Militia, about the heroes and martyrs of the victory at Girón. I would like to refer here to that boy of whom the Air Force Chief spoke, who was resolved that as long as one plane remained, that would be our Air Force.

I would also like to refer to another young man who wrote "Fidel" with his own blood as he lay dying, a victim of enemy strafing.

I would also like to refer to a boy, only 14 years old, who died as a militiaman in the fighting at Girón; his mother came to the funeral in her militia uniform, dryeyed, stating that she was ready to take her son's place.

These are the heroes of our country; these are the deaths caused by the mercenary invasion.

When we revolutionaries see that our country continues advancing, when we see the factories that are being built, the new schools, the farms, the cooperatives; when we see that our country has won historic victories in the fight against the enemy, or in the work of peaceful creation, we should not forget, comrades that all this revolutionary creation can continue, that it is possible, because a group of heroic comrades openly faced the murderous fire of a band of mercenaries who invaded our country in the hire of U. S. gold.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE FACTS

Gentlemen of the Court, analyzing the events leading up to this trial, corroborated by abundant proof placed in the proceeding and brought out in the testimonies there is no doubt that the charges in the indictment have been proven, and following the technical order of procedure, we should pass on to their classification. The classification of these charges that we consider proven has to be conducted from two points of view. First, as constituting violations of our Penal Law, and second, as transgressions on the part of the imperialist Government of the United States of the principles and agreements of international law, to which the United States, as a member of the international judicial community, owes respect. It is evident that the imperialist Government of the United States recruited, equipped, trained, directed, and financed mercenary brigade 2506, which invaded our national territory. It is also evident that it escorted the brigade as it moved toward Cuban shores, and that during the landing it supported the brigade with land, air, and naval units.

This conduct constitutes a case of flagrant aggression against the territory of the Cuban State and a gross violation of the principles of international law. Let us continue to enumerate those violations.

VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

FIRST: the imperialist Government of the United States openly planned, organized, and carried out this aggressive action against the people of Cuba, despicably violating the specific obligations set in the third and fourth sections of Article Two of the Charter of the United Nations, which says:

Third: all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice, are not endangered.

Fourth: all members shall refrain in their international relations from resorting to the threat or *use of force against the territorial integrity* or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

SECOND: the imperialist Government of the United

States, in planning, organizing, and carrying out its aggressive action against the people of Cuba, openly and despicably violated specific obligations placed on it by Article 17 of the Charter of the Organization of American States—to-day transformed into a military alliance—which specifies:

“Article 17 — the territory of a State is inviolable; it may not be the object even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized.”

THIRD: the imperialist Government of the United States in planning, organizing, and carrying out this aggressive action against our people, openly and despicably violated the specific obligation placed on it in the first article of the *additional protocol* of the Inter-American Peace Conference in Buenos Aires in 1936, which expressly establishes:

“Article 1.—The High Contracting parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the parties.

“Violation of the provisions of this article shall give rise to mutual consultation, with the object of exchanging views and seeking methods of peaceful adjustment.”

FOURTH: The imperialist Government of the United States, in planning, organizing, and carrying out its aggressive action against the people of Cuba, openly and despicably violated the obligation specifically assumed by the United States according to the terms of the convention held in Havana in 1928, which establishes in the first article:

Article 1.—The contracting states bind themselves to observe the following rules with regard to civil strife in another one of them:

FIRST: to use all means at their disposal to prevent the inhabitants of their territory, nationals or aliens, from participating, gathering elements, crossing the boundary or sailing from their territory for the purpose of starting or promoting strife.

SECOND: to disarm and intern every rebel force crossing their boundaries, the expenses of internment to

be borne by the state where public order may have been disturbed. The arms founds in the hands of the rebels may be seized and withdrawn by the government of the country granting asylum, to be returned, once the struggle has ended, to the state in civil strife.

THIRD: to forbid the traffic in arms and war material, except when intended for the government, while the belligerency of the rebels has not been recognized, in which later case the rules of neutrality shall be applied.

It is clear that all those violations of international law on the part of the imperialist Government of the United States are not punishable in this trial; but what no one ventures to doubt is the proven direct and major role it played in the actions. This should contribute to establishing a basis for the conclusions this court will reach. And it will serve, moreover, to expose the imperialist Government of the United States—which proclaims itself champion of respect for the international norms of co-existence and not the obstinate violator of these norms and hated “gendarme” of international reaction—before international opinion and the peoples of the world.

THE CRIMES

We now continue, Gentlemen of the Court, to classify the acts we have related here in accordance with the provisions of our Penal Law. We consider them to be covered in Article 5 of Law 425 of 1959, in relation to Articles 128 and 147 of the Civil Defense Code.

Article 5 of Law 425 of 1959 states: “Those who commit any of the crimes defined in Articles 128, 147, 148, and 149 of the Social Defense Code, landing on the national territory as part of armed contingents, incur the punishment of from twenty years imprisonment to death. We are also going to read before the Court, Article 128, to which Article 5 refers, and Article 147, in the same order in which they have been enumerated.

Article 128 refers to anyone “who, in the interests of a foreign power carries out an action that has express and known objectives that will be detrimental to the independence of the Republic or the integrity of the national territory” establishes the same punishment as that provided

by Article 5 of Law 425, that is, from twenty years imprisonment to death.

Article 147 refers to anyone "who carries out any act intended to change the constitution of the State, the form of the established government, in all or part, by means of violence." It carries with it the same punishment.

The action that the Prosecution imputes to all members of Invasion Brigade No. 2506, is considered in the articles we have just cited.

What doubt can there be that the first element set forth by the Social Defense Code, that of a landing as part of an armed contingent, is proven by the presence of the defendants in this trial alone? Who can deny that all those who came to our national territory formed part of an armed contingent?

Established this prerequisite, there can be no doubt either, for this Prosecutor of the express and known design of all members of Brigade 2506; that is, that they acted in the interests of a foreign power, in the interests of the United States of America, and with a goal detrimental to the independence of the Republic.

The crime characterized in Article 128 of the Civil Defense Code under the classification of "crimes against the integrity and stability of the nation" does not leave this Prosecutor any room for doubt that this crime has been committed by the members of the brigade as a whole. But we would like to call the Court's attention to the fact that "crime against the integrity and stability of the nation" is the name that our Civil Defense Code gives to the crime that the repeated Penal Code classified as a crime of "treason". It is also called "treason" by the Penal Code of Cuba-in-arms (the Revolutionary Government).

Without entering into technicalities that do not belong to this case, we would like to tell the Court that we personally believe that the denomination of our old code was more fitting: "A crime of treason." The penal codes of almost all countries of the world classify this "crime against the stability and integrity of the nation" as a "crime of treason" and punish it with the most severe penalties existing in their penal ordinance. This is logical, because the interests we are trying to defend are none other than the stability and integrity of the nation.

Any attack against such important values has to be punished with the maximum provisions of the penal code.

The other crime that the prosecution imputes to all the members of the brigade is a "crime against state power", which is dealt with in Article 147 of the Social Defense Code, because the members of the brigade as a whole have also carried out an action designed to effect a direct change through violent means, of the constitution of the State and the form of established government.

It has been proved documentarily, through the confessions of the defendants and the statements of the witnesses, that their intention was to produce the overthrow of the Revolutionary State.

All countries of the world, all countries with capitalist regimes as well as socialist regimes, apply the maximum penalties of their penal laws for crimes of treason and crimes against the State. And if this is done by the bourgeois states in defense of the interests of a minority, a State such as this, which is the representative of the working class, of the farmers, the genuine representative of the working people, has a greater right to apply the most severe punishment to those whose actions unquestionably fall under the jurisdiction of the articles that we referred to before this Court.

PARTICIPATION OF THE DEFENDANTS

As we have completed the classification of these actions in accordance with the provisions of our Penal Law, let us now go on to determine the part that the accused members of Brigade 2506 played in those actions.

In all crime, according to our Penal Law, it is necessary to distinguish the degree of participation, making a distinction between the authors and the accomplices. What doubt can the court have, what doubt can the people of Cuba, the peoples of Latin America, all peoples have, that the main responsibility for this grave crime falls on the imperialist Government of the United States as direct author and on its President, John F. Kennedy, who insolently proclaimed his crime before the world and admitted his responsibility in statements that were transmitted throughout the world by the wire services of imperialism?

What doubt can the Court, and the people of Cuba, and the peoples of Latin America, have that the concept of accomplice in this huge crime against our country must also be laid at the door of Manuel Ydígoras, President of Guatemala—who, like President Kennedy, admitted in public statements what all America knew, that mercenaries were installed in training bases on Guatemalan territory in order to invade Cuba; Anastasio Somoza, "Tachito", Nicaraguan tyrant; Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela; Roberto Chiari, of Panamá; and Muñoz Marín, imperialist governor of the suffering colony of Puerto Rico?

And those mercenaries who invaded their country in the hire of United States imperialism, can there be any doubt that they too are responsible as direct authors of that grave crime against their own country? What doubt can there be that they were the arm that executed the paid order? All, absolutely all the members of Brigade 2506 are responsible as immediate authors of the previously classified crimes against the stability and integrity of the nation and the powers of the State. The verdict of the Court against them should impose the punishment that their grave crime deserves.

For the crimes that we are imputing to the members of Brigade 2506 as a whole and for which the defendants are immediately responsible, our Penal Law establishes a punishment whose minimum limit is twenty years in prison and whose maximum limit is the death penalty; death before the firing squad. The Prosecution, exercising the high ministry of representing the people of Cuba—victim of the reprehensible conduct of the defendants and imbued with a lofty spirit that is constructing a new society, free of the exploitation of man by man—considers that all the members of the brigade, absolutely all, are responsible as immediate authors of the actions that have been classified. But taking into account personal and social circumstances of the defendants, their degree of dangerousness, their incentives, and all the complex circumstances that contributed to that grave crime, we should make precise distinctions among the defendants so that the Court may take this into account when determining the proper punishment corresponding to them. And the basic thing in this respect is the make up of the brigade.

Who made up mercenary Brigade 2506? Who were the men who joined it? Latifundists such as Mario Freyre, who admitted to having ten thousand acres of land (excellent land dedicated to cattle!) and who was also administrator of a sugar mill; industrialists such as the Babum brothers, owners of cement factories and sawmills in the province of Oriente; corrupt politicians such as Cándido Mora; murderers and torturers such as Calviño and "El Chino" King; magnates of the press sold out to imperialism, poisoning the people; representatives of the reactionary ecclesiastical hierarchy such as the Falangist priests Las Heras and Ismael de Lugo; ex-soldiers of the tyranny such as Martínez Suárez, San Román and Oliva, embezzlers and traitors such as Manuel Artime; gamblers, drug peddlers, playboys, bums, and lumpen proletariat. Why did these elements of such dissimilar backgrounds unite in a common cause, in the same armed group? From the beginning of the Revolution Major Fidel Castro has been alerting the people to the fact that the latifundists, the war criminals, the magnates of the yellow press, and the parasites who lived off gambling and prostitution, would unite in a counterrevolutionary front to combat, to try to overthrow the government of the people and for the people. This prophecy has been fulfilled; the representatives of that counterrevolutionary front are seated together here. And the people also, united to face their class enemies and the allies of their class enemies, prepared to face them and defeat them as often as may be necessary, inflicting even greater defeats than that of Girón.

THE IMPERIALIST MERCENARY BRIGADE

All of them united because, in the end, priests, soldiers, big landholders, speculators, and monopolists are all more or less the same thing.

All of them united in the imperialist mercenary brigade in order to recover the lost privileges of those who were masters or servants. They united to return the lost semicolon to imperialism. They joined to deprive the peoples of America of the living example of Revolutionary Cuba. The selfish motive, the absence of ideals in the members of the brigade, have been made manifest by their lack of a

program with specific objectives. In the copious documentation that has been included in the proceedings, are military plans in English and Spanish; geographic charts; the key to codes; drafts of the Military Penal Code, in which they established the death penalty for revolutionaries; charts of military organization; and a thousand more documents showing the program of this brigade and its objectives. Could there be any chance that these objectives did not exist? No, gentlemen of the Court, ideals no, but objectives yes. The program of the brigade was given to us by the social background of its members, and furthermore, by its grand organizer, United States imperialism. The objectives were clear and evident: to re-establish the domination of the monopolies and imperialism over our country; to take the land away from the farmers and turn it over to the latifundists; to seize the enterprises from the people and turn them over to their former owners; to re-establish gambling, the numbers racket, the drugs traffic; to restore the newspapers that poisoned the minds of the people; to bring back the old political system in order to return us to the condition of a semi-colonial state. It is clear that those objectives could not be written in any program; they had to be hidden.

The isolated statements of some mercenaries about free enterprise, the Constitution of 1940, "representative democracy", freedom of the press, individual rights, freedom of religion, were pure empty talk—hollow and meaningless.

Cándido Mora fighting for "representative democracy" and the Constitution of 1940! Cándido Mora, who was appointed by Batista at the time of the coup d'état, to be the manager of the Capitol no less. Ulises Carbó and Carlos Rivero, nephew of Pepín Rivero, fighting for freedom of the press! The Falangist priests fighting for freedom of religion (the freedom of religion of Franco's Spain, which has been murdering the Spanish people for over 20 years); Mario Freyre, the latifundist from Oriente fighting for free enterprise as an effective method for giving land to the farmers! As if, with a few latifundists like him, all the arable land in the country wouldn't have been

grabbed. The Babum brothers, fighting for free enterprise! As if just a few families such as theirs had not left the people, without a single tree standing! That also explains why the so-called leaders of the brigade, Mr. Artime, Mr. Oliva, and Mr. San Román, have not said a word about the objectives of their program.

THE SO-CALLED "LEADERS" OF THE BRIGADE

Up to now we have referred to the mercenary brigade as a whole, pointing out its most characteristic features, the social background of some of its members. Now we will tell the Court briefly something about the so-called "leaders" of the brigade—the mercenary Manuel Artime, the mercenary José San Román, and the mercenary Andrés Oliva—not only so that the Court may know the important background of their past and present conduct, but also so that their buddies in this adventure may know the leaders that imperialism imposed upon them.

Who is Mr. San Román? San Román was a lieutenant in the army of Batista, who reached the rank of acting captain. At the triumph of the Revolution—as yet another proof of the fact that this is a very generous Revolution—in spite of having belonged to the army of the tyranny, he began to work in the offices of the INRA, during the first few months. Later, he was mixed up in the flight of his brother, who had to pay for his war crimes before revolutionary justice, and who also came on this invasion. This was Roberto San Román. He was arrested and imprisoned for some time, was set free and fled the country. He was one of the first men to go to the recruiting bases.

José was one of the leaders, on the first General Staff of the brigade. He came as the leader of the brigade. They have already referred to the deplorable way in which he fought and led (his men), the state of his morale when he was captured. He didn't brag at all. His attitude was disoriented and he seemed repentant.

The Court has heard the letters written by the defendant, José San Román, in which he accused Imperialism and recognized the fact that he was a mercenary. The Court surely will take this letter into consideration at the time of passing sentence.

OLIVA, SOLDIER OF THE TYRANNY

Another of the major defendants, Mr. Andrés Oliva, also belonged to the army of the tyranny. While Cubans were in the mountains forming part of the guerrilla troops that fought to liberate our country, Mr. Oliva was an instructor in the "Fort Gulick" Academy in Panamá. This is one of the military academies in which imperialism trains officers to be utilized in the repression of popular movements in Latin American countries.

The revolution was generous with Mr. Oliva too, and gave him an opportunity to work first as an instructor in the Rebel Army in the camp at Managua, and later in the inspection department of the INRA. When the Trujillist conspiracy took place—which the court will recall—the army was "cleaned" of soldiers of the tyranny who still belonged to it, and Oliva was sent from the school at Managua to the inspection department of the INRA.

He worked there for some months, and finally, faithful to his training, first as a student and later as an instructor in the imperialist military academy in Panamá, he fled Cuba and once more put himself at the service of imperialism, coming as second-in-command of the mercenary brigade.

Of his behavior in combat, the so-called chief of the brigade, San Román, is in the best position to speak. He mentioned in a letter that Mr. Oliva had run to the plane at "sputnik speed". His behavior in combat can also be inferred from the words of comrade Fernández Mel, when he refers to Oliva's surrendering of the position he was defending without waiting for a second attack by the Revolutionary Forces.

ARTIME: EMBEZZLER

And if that is what the officers did, how could we ask Mr. Artime to be brave in combat. Artime was the civilian leader of the brigade, of the type of "front men" who characterized the so-called Revolutionary Democratic Front which imperialism used to conceal some aspects of the invasion. He was in charge of establishing contact with the

so-called leaders of the Front, who would come to Cuba when the position they were attempting to win was consolidated.

Mr. Artime was a student who joined the rebel forces in the last days of the tyranny when the war against Batista was ending. He was appointed to the "Ciro Redondo" zone of the INRA, and worked there for several months.

Here an exceptional witness, Major Miret, pointed out with minute precision how Mr. Artime, when he was head of the "Ciro Redondo" agrarian development zone of the INRA, embezzled, among other funds, several checks earmarked for the payment of the workers.

At the time that Major Miret was testifying before the Court, the defendant Artime jumped to his feet, interrupting the trial, to declare that he could not have received the second check until he had accounted for the first, and he entered into a discussion of whether or not he had appropriated the second, but not denying the appropriation of the first.

But all the people of Cuba, and the Court too, know that Artime committed this crime of embezzlement. Naturally, what is being examined here is not that conduct. Artime is being tried for having participated in the mercenary invasion; it is this crime that the Prosecution is charging him with.

THE MAXIMUM PENALTY

There is no doubt, gentlemen of the court, that all the members of Brigade 2506 are responsible for a crime against the stability and integrity of the nation and against the power of the state, proven in the first place by the very presence of the defendants at the trial, as well as by the documentary proofs presented in the testimony and confessions.

Our penal law, the Social Defense Code and Law No. 425, establish the punishments for these crimes as from 20 years imprisonment to death. In the opinion of the Prosecution, representing the people of Cuba in this trial, representing the people who have been the victims of that traitorous invasion, there is no room for doubt that these

"gentlemen"ought to receive the maximum penalty for the crime they have committed.

The prosecution has no interest in concrete punishments for this or that defendant, we are accusing the entire brigade of the crime to which we have previously referred, and we understand that this Court with its high spirit of revolutionary justice will punish these actions severely imposing on all the defendants, the members of Brigade 2506, the maximum penalty, the most severe punishment, that our penal law establishes for the serious crime of treason to their country, of which they are guilty.

This is what the Prosecution, in the name of the people, requests of the Court in this trial, as far as the direct-authors of the aggression who occupy the defendants' seat are concerned.

As far as the other authors —United States imperialism and its President Kennedy, who admitted to the world his responsibility for that enormous crime are concerned, it is true that they are not going to be tried here. President Kennedy and his accomplices will have to answer for their crime before the Court of the Peoples of the world, who will punish them with all the severity that their crimes merit.

The prosecution rests, Mr. President.

PLEA BY THE ATTORNEY FOR THE DEFENSE

DR. ANTONIO CEJAS SANCHEZ

Gentlemen of the Court:

It is difficult, very difficult, and everyone here is aware of it, to make a speech defending you who are accused of a crime that you yourselves confirmed by your very presence at Playa Girón and which you confirmed again on television.

Nevertheless, for us, for me, as the lawyer I have always been and the revolutionary I am, even now when I am defending you, this is an occasion of extraordinary responsibility and extraordinary historic importance, because I have to convince this Court, and I have to convince it effectively, that I am honestly interested in my defense being just and being revolutionary.

THE PEOPLE'S GENEROSITY

In making my defense I base my plea on the generosity of the Cuban people, demonstrated on the occasion of the victory of Playa Girón. I am going to refer, in the first place, to the words of Major Fidel Castro, who told you, defendants, on April 26th, 1961, on T. V.:

"There are sometimes problems that are difficult to explain. You can be sure that your case is one such problem. One of the problems which is difficult for the people to understand, you can be sure, is that no measures were taken, that no severe punishments were applied."

That afternoon Major Fidel Castro said:

"Our people are not a vengeful people or a people who harbor hate. If they were vengeful, the men who saw their comrades killed by Yankee airplanes and Yankee strafing, by your mortars and bullets, would not have received you with a canteen of water and a plate of food when you surrendered to them, but rather would

have vented their hatred and the spirit of vengeance on you right there."

"Our people are not educated in the spirit of vengeance or the spirit of hate, and our conduct will never follow what is said abroad. We know that no correct or just action taken by the Revolution will be reported to the world. We know that Yankee newspapers and wire services will only report the worst lies about us. Therefore, what they say is not important. Whatever we do, they will always be at the service of falsehood, despicably spreading lies about us. What we do concerns our conscience, what we do concerns our ethics and our principles".

THE MAIN CULPRIT —IMPERIALISM

And since it concerns our conscience, our ethics, and our principles, I have come before this Court as a public defender to conduct an honest defense of those accused of invading our national territory in the defeated expedition of Brigade 2506. In the first place, as has been said by the first prisoner who spoke before the television cameras, as well as the Prosecutor this afternoon, the main culprit is not sitting with the accused. The main culprit is Imperialism.

In one way or another, everyone in the whole world is aware that we do not judge as directly responsible those on trial here today, but rather Imperialism. This is not to say that you defendants did not take a direct part in the events, but as a number of witnesses have clearly stated in this Court, including witnesses who hold responsible military and political positions —such as Captain Aragonés— not all of you had the same awareness of "serving a foreign power". The Prosecution and the witnesses for the Prosecution, have repeated that constantly.

And it is not that the public defender is trying to make the Court believe —as the Court would not respect a lawyer if he tried to do so— that since Imperialism is the main culprit, and since we can distinguish greater or lesser degree of awareness on the part of the defendants, this would make the defendants not guilty. This would be an argument with limited juridical validity, because

this Court knows —because many of the accused by their attitude, helped the Court reaffirm this opinion— the Court knows, and the people of Cuba know that not all of the defendants are in a position to understand and accept the historic and political reality of the participation of Imperialism in this act of aggression.

And for that reason, a good, a correct defense could not rest upon that argument, but upon the certain and true fact that even those who might have had an awareness of their service to a foreign power were not totally free to determine their conduct. They were repeatedly subjected —not only after the triumph of the Revolution, but, as one of the defendants here has pointed out, by their upbringing, education and family background— to a distortion of historic and political facts from which not all men can disengage themselves.

It is correct that the lesser or greater degree of responsibility of the defendants should be in direct relation to this distortion of history and historic truths, which gradually become part of the lives of men subjected to the daily influence of the information and propaganda media of the systems of political oppression.

THE INDEMNITY

And together with the question of awareness or lack of awareness of the role of Imperialism in this historic problem, it is necessary to analyze the significance of individual interests in relation to this social, historic and political problem.

I would like to read some words of Major Fidel Castro at this time. He said during that appearance:

"We are capable of understanding that there are many among you who have been dragged into this situation for one reason or another; men who might have acted differently in other circumstances."

"I can even admit" said Major Fidel Castro, "that there are men here who have been deceived, and I can admit that there are men who have been acting in the belief that they were doing the right thing, even though it is said that the road to hell is paved with good intentions..."

That appearance of the Prime Minister took place before the Revolutionary Government's official position was known about the possibility of receiving indemnification for the material damages that had been caused, in which case the Revolutionary Government was ready to free all prisoners taken in the frustrated invasion.

It was after that appearance that commissions of prisoners were sent to the United States, where they mobilized their relatives who were waiting to see what the attitude of the imperialist government, which was responsible for this action, was going to be. That indemnification could have been an effective solution eliminating the necessity of holding this trial.

But the defendants know, and the defendant's families know, just as the people of Cuba know, that it was the imperialist government that set up the obstacles preventing the payment of the indemnity demanded for the material damages caused by the frustrated invasion.

Once more the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba have been generous. They were generous and disciplined at the time of triumph and victory; they preserved your lives and dignity, writing a page of heroism and deep human content such as few people have written in modern history. But the people of Cuba were also generous when they understood the vigor and prestige of the idea, the possibility of freeing the prisoners without bringing them to trial, in exchange for the previous payment of the indemnity demanded and required for the material damages.

A MERCIFUL SENTENCE

In addition to that undeniably practical suggestion on which we are basing our plea before this Court in relation to the sentence that will be given, we are also taking into account other words of Major Fidel Castro: "The great victory of the people cannot be cheapened by excesses or by taking strong measures against all."

It is certain —the prosecutor took it upon himself to point this out, and we discussed it yesterday during the questioning of some of the witnesses for the Prosecution—

that class composition plays an extraordinarily important role in all this. It is certain that these men could not act with entire and absolute freedom from those factors to which we referred in the testimony of one of the defendants.

The historic period in which they lived, and the general composition, which was the determining influence on the men who made up the brigade and the determining influence on the men who are passing judgement on them, who will sentence them in the name of the people, are undoubtedly antagonistic. And this is undoubtedly the situation that has brought about this trial, as the consequence of that terrible fight in which so many Cubans lost their lives and which brought mourning to so many families.

But when it determines the punishment, the Court should take into consideration something in addition to the historic battle of Playa Girón, something in addition to the mourning of those families, the suffering of the children, the anguish of the Cuban mothers who will always have to mourn the loss of their sons, but who will always be able to live with pride in the memory of the heroes who fell in the defense of our country. The Court should not in any way hurt the sensibility of the families of our comrades, who died in the glory of battle, in the glory of the fight to defend the cause of socialism, to defend the integrity of our country. And that glory is not being debated today, nor are we suggesting that the calm of the families or the trust of these fatherless children be disturbed, because all of them understood the victory at Girón and were generous. The people of Cuba understand the demand for the reclamation of damages caused there, and are generous. And the people of Cuba will be generous again and will know how to interpret a merciful sentence by the Court, overlooking formalities and routine.

In the name of that same Revolution, in the name of the cause of socialism, in the name of the historic grandeur of the victory at Girón, against imperialism, in the name of justice, brotherhood, and progress, the ideals that have always illuminated the people of Cuba, that have characterized them in the eyes of the world and America; in the name of the young people of Cuba, in the name of

the teachers in the campaign against illiteracy, in the name of all the workers and peasants, the students and honest intellectuals of Cuba, of America, and the world, united in the fight against imperialism, this Revolutionary Court ought to consider the facts that were expressed here by the Prosecution and its witnesses, to weigh the defendants' responsibility in relation to the great responsibility of the imperialist Government of the United States.

A REVOLUTIONARY VICTORY

The Court ought to take into consideration the repeated proofs of generosity and understanding given by the people of Cuba, and the Court also ought to take into account the fact that this sentence is another revolutionary action, that this sentence is a new declaration of revolutionary faith, that this sentence can be a revolutionary victory just like Girón, a revolutionary victory without hate, a pure revolutionary victory, a people's revolutionary victory, a revolutionary victory of profound content, a revolutionary victory that will be a message to the peoples, that will be a message from this land to humanity, a Revolutionary victory through a sentence that is firm but just, that will restore the peace violated by the invasion and permitting the appraisal of each case —individually— facilitating the possibility of reconsidering the behavior and attitude of each of the defendants, at any time, so no one will be scorged with a long, hard, extreme sentence of death, or life imprisonment, but a sentence with the necessary flexibility so that the Cuban Revolution would show to the world that by not giving the maximum penalties or even imprisonment, but by applying the appropriate punishment to each individual case it can eliminate the possibility —through the example of that sentence— of others venturing to stain our soil with blood.

And let this sentence, by the same token, be a warning as strong and as decided as the people who died fighting at Girón —as the people will always be prepared to die in battle if necessary— a sentence, in the rebel manner, in the militia manner, but that will not only serve to tell the world that we are passing judgment here with courage,

but that we are also ready here with the same courage to show the world that we are capable of mercy, of understanding, of respect for the dignity of others, and that we are also able to fight a frontal battle against all aggressions of the imperialism.

A JUST AND HONEST SENTENCE

And so, let us produce a sentence which takes into account all the facts presented at this trial, which will tell the world how the Cuban Revolution has obtained a military and popular victory, how it has preserved the lives of the defendants, how it has preserved each and all of their personal prerogatives as prisoners, how the Cuban people and the Cuban Revolution have held this trial in the midst of the difficulties the imperialist blockade has created for us; how, taking time and effort, we have held a revolutionary trial where there has not been the slightest trace of coercion; where we can stand up before the world with a sentence that illustrates the true content of the Cuban Revolution, a sentence that places the fundamental responsibility on imperialism as the guilty party in that invasion, punishing the defendants as they deserve, so that they won't be the object of a sentence that, although deserved, the people of Cuba will perhaps consider more just not to impose, because it is not necessary.

Based on the grandeur of the Cuban people, demonstrated in the victory at Girón, demonstrated in the idea of indemnification, based on that grandeur and generosity as expressed in the words of Fidel Castro, this lawyer, anxious to carry out his professional and revolutionary duty, and, above all, his humanist and socialist position towards history, requests that the Court hand down a just sentence, an honest sentence, to make peace with the men who one day violated it.

**TEXT OF THE SENTENCE PRONOUNCED BY THE
REVOLUTIONARY COURT ON APRIL 7TH,
1962, IN THE SUMMARY TRIAL OF THE
MERCENARY INVADERS**

In the city of Havana, on the seventh day of the month of April in the year nineteen hundred and sixty-two.

The Revolutionary Court, composed of Major Augusto R. Martínez Sánchez as President, Juan Almeida Bosque, Sergio del Valle Jiménez, Guillermo García Frías and Manuel Piñeiro Losada as assistants, with Captain Narciso A. Fernández Suárez as Court Secretary, Dr. Santiago Cuba Fernández as Prosecutor, and doctor Antonio Cejas Sánchez, as Attorney for the Defense heard Case Nº 111 of 1962 for the infraction of Article Nº 128 of the Social Defense Code in relation to Article 5, Law Nº 425, passed on July 7, 1959. The case against the accused is related as follows:

(The following is the complete list of the accused mercenaries).

PROVEN FACTS — That at 2:30 in the morning of April 17th, 1961, a group, armed, financed, equipped, and trained by the United States, called by its members Assault Brigade No. 2506, made up of some 1,500 men, among whom are included the prisoners here, began landing on the southern coast of Las Villas province in the Zapata Swamp, coming from Puerto Cabezas, Republic of Nicaragua.

That the invasion plan, according to the documents taken from the defendants, called for landings at three points in the Zapata Swamp: Playa Larga, which the plans called "Playa Roja", where the ship *Aguja* unloaded; Playa Girón, called "Playa Azul" where the ships "*Ballena*" and "*Tiburón*" unloaded; and Caleta Verde, called "Playa Verde", where the ships "*Marsopa*", "*Barracuda*" and "*Atún*" unloaded, as well as a paratroop battalion which

was to occupy positions north of Playa Girón and Playa Larga, around San Blas and Soplillar, respectively. Their mission was to block access to the landing and operations zone, which was to be isolated and fortified in order to set up a provisional government there, and to initiate and develop a war of attrition that would facilitate the interventionist plans of the imperialist Government of the United States of America.

That the mercenary brigade landed at Playa Larga and Playa Girón after overcoming the resistance offered by small units of the National Revolutionary Militia. The brigade landed its tanks and dropped the paratroop battalion north of Girón in order to block the highway leading to the Australia Sugar Mill. Sixteen B-26's escorted by U.S. fighter planes began to bomb the area, strafing the civilian population and causing numerous losses, including the deaths of defenseless women and children. Units of the United States Navy were present, among them two destroyers that came as an escort for the ships transporting the mercenary forces and an aircraft carrier that remained near the battle zone. This criminal sneak attack by the mercenaries also caused material damages amounting to several million pesos.

That the Revolutionary Armed Forces, fighting heroically, crushed the mercenary invasion in 64 hours. Almost all the members of the mercenary force were killed or captured in the action; their arms and equipment were captured, their tanks destroyed or captured, some of their ships were sunk and their air force almost entirely downed.

That the mercenary brigade had the following equipment and armaments. Ships: The *Houston*, called "*Aguja*"; the *Atlantic*, called "*Tiburón*"; the *Río Escondido*, called "*Ballena*"; the *Caribe*, called "*Sardina*"; the *Lake Charles*, called "*Atún*"; the *Blagar*, called "*Marsopa*"; the *Bárbara J.*, called "*Barracuda*"; two modified and armed LCI-type landing barges; three LCU-type barges, which transported 5 M-41 tanks and the armored trucks of armored battalion No. 4; 4 LCPV barges for the landing of men. Airplanes: 16 B-26's, 8 C-46's and 6 C-54's. Tanks: 5 M-1 Sherman tanks

with 76 mm. guns. Arms: 4.2 mortars; 75 mm. recoilless guns, Garand M-1. rifles; pistols and bazookas. All this equipment has been deposited at the General Staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

That the members of the mercenary brigade received military training under the direction of North American instructors in bases located in the United States, Guatemala, and Puerto Rico, drawing monthly salaries for the care of their families from the United States Government, which invested the sum of forty-five million dollars in the financing of this operation.

That the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, assumed the responsibility for the above facts in public declarations in April, 1961.

That the invaders intended to re-establish the domination of the United States monopolies over the Cuban economy, to the detriment of our national sovereignty, as well as to prejudice the latin american peoples' struggles for liberation, their struggles to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

WHEREAS: The facts described above constitute the crime of TREASON, as designated in the listing of crimes against the integrity and stability of the nation in Article 128 of the Code of Social Defense in relation to Article 5, Law 425, year 1959, a crime that was committed when the defendants, as part of an armed group, landed on our national territory in the interests of a foreign power, with the express object of annulling the fact of national independence and subordinating our country to the domination of United States imperialism once again.

WHEREAS: total responsibility for these certified facts was expressly accepted by the government of a foreign power, without prejudicing the individual responsibility that falls on each of the defendants due to his full participation. The great majority of the defendants were members of the exploiting class or the armed forces of the Batista tyranny, historically determined to try by violence to recover the wealth that the Revolution has turned over to the working class, acting once more as instruments of

imperialism in trying to return the land to the latifundists, the factories and buildings to the old exploiters and in trying to re-establish administrative corruption, gambling, prostitution, dope peddling, and finally, in trying to reinstate the domination of the national oligarchy and foreign monopolies that for six decades sucked the wealth created by the labor of the workers, farmers and other sectors of the people.

WHEREAS: The mercenaries were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle of Girón. United States Imperialism thus suffered a humiliating defeat and the Revolution triumphantly achieved its objectives of defending the integrity of our country and the consolidation of the people's power. At this time those objectives do not require the application of the most severe penalties.

WHEREAS: The soldiers of the people, with exemplary calm and following the norms constituting the legal tradition of the Revolution, as established by the Rebel Army in its fight against the tyranny, respected the physical well-being of the invaders when they captured them, a conduct that illustrates the generous spirit of the revolutionary people of Cuba and that also ought to inspire this Court in pronouncing its sentence, especially if we take into account the fact that the Revolutionary Government has declared its willingness to accept an indemnification to repair the material damages caused by the aggression against Cuba and, in accordance with this, to prepare to set the prisoners free.

WHEREAS: That if this court in representing the people of Cuba can be generous to the point of not imposing the death penalty on all the participants in the act of treason carried out in collusion with a foreign power, a deserved punishment that the penal laws of the republic indicate for such serious crimes, it ought not cease to demand indemnity from the guilty parties at least for the material damages caused to the economy of the country through their disturbing and unjustifiable action, since they will never be able to pay for the lives of the sons of our country who died in its defense.

WHEREAS: On the other hand the accused mercenaries, as faithful servants of United States imperialism, can never be excused of the concept of being traitors to their country, for their criminal conduct, as long as they live.

WHEREAS: As traitors to their country they cannot enjoy the civil and political rights that Cuban society confers on all citizens worthy of our people.

WHEREAS: Not all participants in the invasion force share the same degree of responsibility, but that the punishment ought to be adapted to their degree of awareness and the importance of the economic interests they came to recover.

BE IT RESOLVED

To declare them responsible for the deeds that were described in the Proven Facts section of this sentence. To the defendants subject to trial, we impose as punishment for their treason to their country, the loss of Cuban citizenship, the payment of an indemnification in the form and amount that is given farther on, with imprisonment up to a maximum of 30 years at obligatory physical labor as long as they do not satisfy the indemnification. This is set for each one as follows:

THE SUM OF FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$500,000.00) for each of the following defendants: José Alfredo Pérez San Román, Erneido Andrés Oliva González, and Manuel Artime Buesa.

THE SUM OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$100,000.00) for each of the following defendants:

José Andreu Santos, José Almeida González, Fermín Asla Polo, Oscar Luis Acevedo Alemán, Pedro Avila López, Jorge Alonso Pujol Bermúdez, Israel Norberto Abel Sánchez, Israel Abel Pacheco, Juan José Arteaga Morell, José Manuel Argüelles Aguila, Raúl Artiles Alvarez, Wilfredo Agusti Marrero, Manuel Alonso Zayas Bazán, Valentín Bacallao Fonte, José Miguel Battle Vargas, Alfredo Ba-

rrera Amador, Lincoln Babún Franco, Teófilo Omar Babún Franco, Santiago Babún Franco, Porfirio Bertot Matos, Segundo Borges Enriquez, Manuel Alberto Betancourt Moreno, René Horacio Benítez Ferrer, José Joaquín Brao Pérez, Pedro Antonio Benítez Rojas, Luis Brao Pérez, Armando Basulto González, Edgardo Buttari Puig, Juan de Dios Blázquez del Pozo, Gustavo Blázquez del Pozo, Sergio Ambrosio Becerra García, Pedro Lucio Cabrera Azoy, Juan Cabrera González, Tomás Cruz Cruz, Máximo Leonardo Cruz González, Arturo Comas Menéndez, Miguel Cervera Consuegra, Abelardo Campa Díaz, Orlando Cuervo Galano, Arcadio Carballosa Pérez, Humberto Cortina López, Luis Castellanos López, Ulises Carbó Yániz, Julio Cañizares Gamboa, José Esteban del Campo Palet, Guido Conill Jiménez, Mario Córdoba Ferreiro, Francisco Condon Gil, Roberto Cruz Infante, Armando Cofiño Núñez, Rolando Cabezas Peñaroja, Oscar Cerallo Mayo, Dagoberto Darías Soriano, Pedro Delgado Castellanos, Rodolfo Díaz Hernández, Alberto Manuel Díaz Fariñas, Ernesto Diez Argüelles Montalvo, Julio Diez Argüelles Goizueta, Orestes Destrades Duany, José Diez Hernández, Tulio Díaz Suárez, Luis Entrialgo Aixalá, Luis Daniel Elizondo García, Ramón J. Ferrer Mena, Enrique Falla Crabb, Amado Fernández Cruz, Alberto Fowler Perilliat, Fidel Daniel Fuentes Rosario, Fabio Freyre Aguilera, Fidel Fuentes Macías, Marcial Facio Crucet, Alberto Fuentes Odriozola, Sergio Enrique Font Serrano, Francisco Fabre Soliño, Julio Falla Sanguily, Miguel Falla Sanguily, Rafael Alfonso Grenier Martínez, José Luis González Marcilió, José Manuel Gutiérrez Areces, Jorge Gutiérrez Areces, Roberto García Serra Seguro, Gustavo García Montes López Muñoz, Fausto García Menocal Brito, Jorge García Pérez, Ricardo García Negrin, Andrés Gómez Cabanella, Amado Gallol Tabares, Antonio Mario García Meitin Sandoval, Pedro García Fernández, Juan González Andino, Bernardo García Castaño, Fermín Goicochea Sánchez, Oscar González de los Reyes, Gustavo Felipe Galainena Porres, Segundo de las Heras Cabo, Emilio Hernández Trujillo, Enrique Hernández Acevedo, Manuel Antonio Hernández Cruz, Guillermo Hernández Cartaya, Franz Hoed Isoba, Ricardo Herrera de la Torre, Antonio Iglesias Pons, Eduardo Iruela Garrido, Benigno José Ibarra Calero, Diego Mario Jiménez

Silva, Humberto López Cueto, Orlando López Oña, Mamerto Luzarraga Rupia, Esteban Lima Delgado, Eddy Luis Lima Montero, Jesús Llama Muñoz, Jorge Larrazábal Rabanai, Carlos León Acosta, Armando Lastra Faget, José Francisco Landa Gutiérrez, Antonio Luis Lombard Primo, José Morales Cruz, Tomás Macho Castillo, Noelio Montero Díaz, Angel Roberto Mujica Herrera, Luis Enrique Martínez Castro, Francisco Montiel Rivera, José Antonio Moralejo Infante, José Raúl Martínez Uriosti, Arael Medina Estrada, Roberto Mancebo García Ríos, Jorge Mancebo García Ríos, Juan Montalvo Iñiguez, Luis Enrique Mustelier, Alberto Molina Betancourt, José Julio Morel Varona, Gonzalo Morales Cordovés, Julio Muzio Díaz, José Antonio Molet Rosales, Marcelino Miyares Sotolongo, Juvenal Méndez del Risco, Humberto Martínez Llano, Mario Mendoza Ortiz, Fernando Martínez Reina, Cándido Santiago Mora Morales, José A. Miró Torra, Mario Martínez Malo Ruiz, Alberto Menocal Villalón, Juvenal Montero Duque, Manuel Molina Godínez, José Milián de la Noval, Isidoro Noriega Ruiz, Oscar Osle Guiber, Carlos Onetti Auñón, Aurelio Pérez Lugones, Roberto Pertierra Rymat, Ramón L. Piñeiro Galbán, Néstor Gervasio Pino Marina, Sixto Pérez León, Juan José Perullero Rodríguez, Félix Pérez Tamayo, Miguel Angel Padrón Ruiz, José Antonio Prat Barroso, Pablo Oscar Pérez Zamora Sosa, Praxedes Pelegrín Hernández, Manuel Julio Padrón Rodríguez, Humberto Pérez Padrón, Pedro Pablo Patiño Trespalacios, Aramis Roberto Piñón Estrada, Delio Peña Molina, Roberto Perkins Salas, Antonio Páez Llánes, Juan Evelio Pou Mencía, Pedro Porraspita Ochoa, Waldo Peñaranda Barceló, Rubén de Quesada Rioseco, Juan Quintana de la Torre, Luis Orlando Rodríguez Martínez, Francisco José Rodríguez Tabernilla, Manuel Rodríguez Fleitas, José Ramón Reguera Vila, Alfredo Rey Parra, Rolando Rodríguez Márquez, Felipe Rivero Díaz, Antonio Rodríguez Yera, José Antonio Rodríguez Lodo, Aníbal Pascual Rodríguez García, Juan Antonio Santamarina Bermúdez, Bernardo Silva Perdomo, Hugo Sueiro Ríos, Pedro Floreal Sánchez Rodríguez, Hugo Samara Lorenzo, Gustavo Sánchez Fortuny, Juan Alberto Sosa Estévez, Adel Tomás Sotolongo Ramos, Aníbal Soto Piña, Rafael Sánchez Santana, Felipe

Silva Cárdenas, Fernando Sánchez Maciá, Reinaldo Simpson Parra, Eugenio Sardiñas García Menocal, Juan Alberto Suárez Rivas González, Jorge Suárez Rivas López, Emeterio Santovenia Vilela, Antonio Sánchez Manduley, Camilo Samayoa Alvarez, José Ildefonso Trinchera Díaz, Felipe Guillermo Toledo Niebla, Enrique Jorge Tomeu Hidalgo, José Tomeu Hernández, Rolando Tomé Sosa, Juan Travieso Peña, Rolando Toll González, Raúl Taboada Reguera, Félix Dimas Urrea García, José Raúl Varona González, Napoleón Vilaboa Llerena, Ramón Raúl Vicens Valdés, Francisco de Varona Cubría, Jorge Luis de Varona Cubría, Rafael Adolfo de la Caridad Villavicencio Cárdenas, Armando Vega Salas, Tomás de Jesús Vidueira Quintero, Enrique Veitia Alomá, Rafael Villaverde Lamadrid, Angel Antonio Valdés Montiel López, Raúl Yester Frometa, Eduardo Zayas Bazán Loret de Mola.

THE SUM OF FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$50,000.00) for each of the following defendants.

Félix Alemán Hernández, Julio Mario Alonso Fernández, Manuel Agraz González, Luis Alvarez Peydro, José Manuel Alonso Pouza, José Avilés, Miguel Ángel Arcacha Estrada, Gustavo Alemán Simó, Ceferino Alvarez Castrillón, Sergio Abreu Pazos, Fernando Agusti Marrero, Jesús Alfonso Morales, Carlos Allen Dosal, José Enrique Alonso de la Mar, Manuel Lesmo Aguiar Marques, Modesto Jorge Amaro Milián, Raúl Arango Kindelán, José Manuel Argüelles Estévez, Max Enrique Acosta Pita, Manuel de Almagro Ajuria, Juan Francisco Abreu Orta, Jorge Alvarez Viltres, Francisco Elías Alvarez Maya, Jesús Arias García, Armando Alayón Hernández, Pedro Arnau García, Medardo José Alberto Cruz, Eric Arias Arias, Angel Benito Alberto González, Alfonso Alberti García, Osvaldo Alberto Cepero, José Manuel Angel Pomar, Sergio Avila Mariño, Alexis Primitivo Aguado Morales, Luis Alvarez Vázquez, Pedro Félix de Armas Endemaño, Pablo Astudillo Ojeda, Ernesto Abreu Aragón, Ramón Arteaga Díaz, José Armstrong Ballona, José Sixto Andiarrena González, Galo Astor García, Armando Aragón Ulacia, Secundino Abutt Hipo, Orlando Atienza Pérez, Norberto Acos-

ta León, Mariano Alvarez Bernal, Froilan Arias Portuondo, Pablo de Armas Olivera, Mario Santiago Abril Reguera, Carlos Enrique Alfar Sabater, Félix Alonso Antuña, Miguel Alamo Plá, Luis Arrizurieta Sardiñas, José Raúl Bertrán Lamar, Armando José Bolet Suárez, Julio Bueno Rivera, Bernardo Bosch Peñalver, Fernando Blanco Carmona, Ricardo Borroto Díaz, Juan Bringuier Expósito, Rodolfo Blanco Herrera, Andrés Aurelio Basol Pozo, Enrique Bar-net Gil, Rafael Bolívar Fuentes, Jorge Bellas Aneiros, Alberto Bolet Suárez, Juan José Buttari Crespo, Carlos Bravo Rodríguez, José Rolando Barrios Valdivia, Humbelino Bango Suárez, Arnoldo Borrego Suero, Jesús Enoelio Berubides Ballester, David Bellas Aneiros, Cándido Berubides Rivero, Hipólito Baños Ferrán, Julio Benito Valdés, Luis Bandrich Lara, Carlos M. Balido Cordero, Carlos Alberto Badias Díaz, Nelson D. Blanco Navarro, José Hipólito Bacallao Perdomo, Bernardo Bosh Rodríguez, Luis Boix de las Cuevas, Santiago Bello Macías, Reinaldo Borrego Carballo, Evelio R. Borrego Carballo, Alberto Blanco Herrera, Juan Blanco Herrera, José Bacallao Fonte, Daniel Burruezo Arocha, Jesús Berubides Ballester, Carlos Borges Soto, Eduardo Barreiro Valdés, Juan Bugia Vázquez, Luis Mario Collado Méndez, Antonio Carmona Cabrera, Eddy Lorance Chattey Suárez, Waldo Carmona Vento, Armando Arcadio Camejo Corrada, Manuel Chimeno Rodríguez, Manuel Cancio Rojas, Osvaldo Cabrera Docal, Francisco Julio Crucet Rodríguez, Raúl Costo García, Antonio Curbelo Hernández, Marcos Oscar de Cárdenas Díaz, Antonio Capiro Hernández, Freddy Calás Batista, Ramón S. Collazo Díaz, Gilberto Cascante Cobo, Iván Cortada Romero, Pelayo Cuervo Galano, Manuel Cruz Vicaria, Pablo Eduardo Castellón Hernández, Tomás Concepción Jomanon, Elieser Calejo Urgüelles, Reinaldo Castillo Ravelo, José Luis Castillo Barreras, José de Jesús Castaños Fernández, Ineido Cabrera Otaño, Sergio Carrillo Abreu, Rigoberto Cancino Hernández, Alberto Miguel Campos González, Modesto Cejo Moreno, Humberto Creme Cantero, Jesús Carballeira Mora, Ovidio Cuesta García, Bienvenido H. Cabrera Bejerano, Eduardo Correias Vitos, Silvestre Loredó Cárdenas Montes de Oca, Germán Cruz Valdés, José Cabrera Pérez, Rafael Cabeza Fundora, Nelson Carbonell Badía, Arturo Cobo Avila, Juan Clark

Sánchez, Modesto Luis Casteñer López, Waldo de Castro Verde Giol, Fernando Serra Alonso, Healy Harry Cruz Bustillo, Gerardo Crespo Cruz, Paulino Carón Pérez, Osvaldo Erasto Castellanos Salabarría, Ramón Carmenaty Carbonell, Luis Enrique China Ríos, Demetrio Joaquín Calas Boris, Manuel Armando Calas Boris, Rolando Casáes Hernández, Francisco Manuel Camargo Saavedra, Roberto Carballo Díaz, Miguel Juan Cabrera Ortiz, Miguel Cruz Peraza, Humberto Chamizo Quintana, Sergio Castellón Serpa, Alipio Chávez Guerra, José Antonio Carreño González, Ermenegildo B. Cárdenas Montes de Oca, José M. Canosa Rodríguez, Fulgencio Castro Cuello, Alcides Cabrera Porras, Manuel Enrique Casañas Sánchez, Gilberto Calderín Ruiz, José Antonio Cantón Bobadilla, Osvaldo Cortés Conde, Julio Cortés Valera, Alberto Carrillo Cruz, Virgilio Cuéllar Sosa, Armando Luis Calderín Blanco, Roberto Collado Alvarez, Víctor Cárdenas Fernández, Evaristo Clemente Collazo Alvarez, José Canals Canosa, Pablo de la Cruz Campos Gutiérrez, Angel Cairo Ceballos, Rogelio Castellanos Ramos, Angel Casabona Ruiz, Eli César Guallanes, Ramón Cora Johnson, René Corvo Lorenzo, Mario Cruz Rivero, Fernando Capestany Izquierdo, Antonio Collada Suárez, Mario Cebello Suárez, Lomberto Díaz Pérez, José Díaz La Rosa, Leocadio Díaz Ortiz, Héctor Díaz Limontes, Adolfo Desiderio Díaz Cabrera, Mario Delgado Fernández, Pedro Ernesto Díaz García, Hildebram Díaz Rojas, Modesto Díaz Marón, Aníbal Benito Duarte Jurado, Mario Díaz Reyes, Enrique Eduardo Dieppa Recio, Humberto Díaz Fiallo, José Dearín González, Mario Domínguez Rivas, Jorge Delgado Rodríguez, Armando Díaz Fernández, Angel Luis Díaz Fernández, Luis Ignacio Diehl Fernández, Francisco Domínguez Ramos, René Díaz Escobar, Ovidio Díaz Méndez, Julio Díaz Vidal, Jesús Orlando Durán Aragón, Raúl Diez Argüelles Caso, Sergio Gilberto Díaz Morejón, Oscar Diez Argüelles Pertierra, Pánfilo Israel Delgado Suárez, Atilano Domínguez Cadalzo, Armando Díaz Avila, Andrés Domínguez González, Julio Diez García, Pedro Díaz González, Enrique Eugenio Delgado Cuza, Eugenio Delgado Naranjo, Román Delgado Bello, Jesús Delgado García, Alonso Estrada Romero, Vicente Ramón Escobar Delgado, José Antonio Echevarría Domínguez, Pedro Bernardo In-

cinosa Valdés, Julio Esperón Espino, Guillermo Elías Elías, José Escandel Florit, Horacio Juan Espinosa Vega, Ceferino Echevarría González, Francisco José Estévez Bonafonte, Argelio Estupiñán Conti, Domingo Echemendía Escalante, José Egozi Behar, Esteban Escobar Morejón, Elio Estévez Rodríguez, José Julio Echevarría Gispert, Sixto Espino Alonso, Hugo Aristides Elías Martínez, Ramón Fuentes Rosario, Pedro Franco Duharte, Rolando Franco Dalmau, Jorge Fernández Martínez, Heriberto Fernández Ortega, Alvaro Fajardo Ortega, Efrén Figueredo Esteba, Antonio Fernández Peydro, Ramón Arias Cruz, Angel Fernández Urdanivia, Israel Falcón González, René Fuentes Cerna, Roberto Fernández González, Juan Figueras Valdés, Ramiro de la Fé Pérez, Edel Román Fernández del Rosario, Ernesto Freyre Rosales, Ernesto Fernández Dalmau, Manuel Fraga Meireles, Eric Fernández Del Valle, Antonio Fernández Alvarez, Oscar Ferrer Sosa, Héctor Darío Francisco Fera Téllez, Manuel Ferrer Massip, Wilfredo Figueras Valdés, José Ramón Fernández Oliva, Víctor Fernández Cruz, Ronald Fernando Peydro, Alberto Alejandro Fontova Regueira, León Fontova Regueira, Juan Fernández Díaz, Adalberto Ferrer Niebla, Jaime Ferrer González, Severino Antonio Franco Duharte, Edgar Fernández Gutiérrez, Rodobaldo Fuentes Lozano, Luis Fajardo Acanda, Dionisio Fuentes Macías, Antonio Fernández Rodríguez, Ramón Fuentes Camejo, José M. Fajardo Montaña, Luis Mariano Figueroa González, Roberto Franchi-Alfaro García, Wilfredo Fernández García, Eduardo Fernández Arencibia, Matías Farías Cuadra, Héctor Freixas Campiña, Oscar Manuel Fernández Delgado, Gabriel Gómez del Río Remon, Andrés García Gutiérrez, Raúl González Jerez, Jorge Govín Throckmorton, Antonio González Vázquez, Manuel Gerardo Garrandes García, Manuel González Pérez, Daniel González Carmenate, Emilio González Guzan, Sergio Galeano Fortún, Claudio Florencio González Morales, Rafael González Labrada, Arturo González Fernández, Cecilio González García del Prado, Héctor García Hernández, Carlos Manuel Garrido González, Tirso González Bardiñas, Pedro Godoy Irriarte, Félix Faustino González Alea, Carlos García Rodríguez, Jorge González Fuentes, José Ramón Guerra Rojas, Miguel Angel Garete Noa,

Fernando René Gutiérrez Quintanilla, Guillermo Guerra Hernández, Joaquín Rodolfo García Manresa, Pedro Guerra Batista, Emilio González Araujo, Armando Galis Menéndez, Roberto Lázaro García Pérez, Raúl González Llata, José Manuel Fausto González Mercier, Adalbelio González, Rodolfo González Blau, Alberto García Navarro Mayor, Ramón Frank González Fernández, Luis González Padilla, Alfredo González Durán, José Ramón Gutiérrez Mendieta, Jorge García Rodríguez, Fulgencio Ricardo Gil Hernández, Ramón Gotardi Piquero, Benigno García López, Hiran Gómez Rodríguez, Luis Miguel Guerra Saiz, Juan Jesús González López, Antonio Miguel García Fandino, Antonio González de León, Benito González González, Antonio Gómez Candales, Pedro González Cruz, José M. García Labaniego, Oscar García Guerra, Ricardo Gómez Alonso, Ramón García Barrios, Reinaldo González Padrón, Enrique García Vázquez, Luis Manuel González Toro, Francisco Guerra Vázquez, Rubén González de la Heria, Raúl Leopoldo Granda Hernández, Raimundo Guerra Moya, Bernardo Gutiérrez González, Manuel González Ramón, Alberto Rolando Gómez Ibáñez, Manuel A. Granado Díaz, Aeric Garcés Hernández, Juan Francisco García Menéndez, Emilio Guerra Freyre, Luis Guerra Freyre, Edwin González Morera, Serafín González Gómez, Luis Héctor Haget Guzmán, Emilio Antonio Han Lara, Julio Herrera Sánchez, Jorge Hernández Carnesoltas, Miguel de la Heria Ledesma, Jorge Herrera López, René Hernández Fresneda, Francisco José Hernández Calvo, Eliber Hernández Hernández, José Luis Hernández Vázquez, Freddy Izquierdo Roque, Juan Bautista Julien Martínez, Rolando Jiménez Alvarez, José Juara Silverio, Emilio Juncosa Delgado, Ernesto de los Angeles Lluesman Pérez, Orlando Lendoiro Rosado, Félix López Fernández, Eliodoro Lazo Pedro, René Tirso, Ramón Luis Pelli, Armando López Escala, Rafael López Estrada, Humberto I. López Sardaña, Jorge Leyseca Garmendía, Raimundo López García, Martín Reinaldo Linares Reyes, Rodolfo Juan Llorente Torres, Carlos Luzan Castellanos, Eduardo Leyva Ramírez, Juan Manuel Levi Pardo, Juan Manuel López de la Cruz, Enrique Llaca Orbiz, René de la Mar Maza, Juan Enrique Lambert Abiague, José Lage Prada, Douglas Nelson

Lethbridge Aguilera, Pablo A. Morejón Figueroa, Segundo Martínez Granja, Manuel Menéndez Pou, Jesús M. Morales Moreno, Ramiro Alfredo Montalvo Fernández, Mario Martínez Quevedo, Felipe Morín Rodríguez, José Ramón Molina Young, William Denis Muir Celorio, Enrique Teófilo Miguel Rivero, Antonio Santiago Martínez Garriga, Pablo Mut Montero, Orlando Lázaro Méndez Fernández, Segundo Miranda Hernández, Jorge Marquet Alderete, Andrés Manso Rojas, Hiran Avit Morales Pelegrín, Manuel Severo Martín Valdivia, Alberto Martínez Echenique, Evangelista Isidro Mursulí Collazo, César Ernesto Martínez Olivero, Orlando Montero de Armas, Alberto Eladio Mederos Rojas, Francisco Marrero Calero, Orestes Mirabal Hernández, Adrián Maciá Vinet, Luis Enrique Morsse Delgado, José Eugenio de Miranda Agramonte, Rolando Mendoza Delgado, Fernando Marquet Martínez, Angel Murgado Ledo, Bernardo Miyares Mendoza, Sergio Miyares Mendoza, Mario Muxó Iparraguirre, Orlando Sixto Martínez Miller, Juan Alberto Mora Chávez, José Morales Amador, Ricardo Martínez Ortega, Erbio Juan Mir Pupo, José Manuel Macías Riera, Jesús Enrique Noriega Arjona, Alberto Naon Rodríguez, José Luis Navarro Casanova, Ricardo Nodarse Cardona, Carlos Francisco Navarrete Royo, Carlos Alfredo Nodarse Saliva, Rodolfo Núñez Webster, Roberto Novo Barquer, Rafael Oramas Fuentes, Carlos Emilio Ochoa Núñez, Raúl Serafín Ortega Alvarez, Hugo Olazábal Muñiz, Enrique Oviedo León, Gabriel de Jesús Oti Muntaner, Rolando Otero Hernández, Pablo Organvides Parada, Cecilio Juan Padrón Sánchez, Rolando Pérez Rodríguez, Guillermo Pérez Amador, José Praderes Pagés, Rosendo Pérez La Rosa, Oreste Praderes Pagés, Antonio Pineda Cabrera, Eduardo Penedo Abadín, José Ramón Pérez Peña, Orlando Piloto Valles, José Manuel Paz Cañizares, Edilio Pérez Zaldívar, Cándido Pacheco Rondon, Jorge del Pino González, Edelmiro Pérez Feal, Ceferino Ramón Pérez Carril, Carlos Paret Pérez, Juan Pérez Franco, Roberto Pichardo Vázquez, Lorenzo Pardo Valdés, Florencio de Peña Flores, Faustino Peña Moreno, Manuel Pérez García, Angel Pedro Pérez Crespo, Jacinto de la Presilla Elías, Arturo Pique Fernández-Coca, José A. Perdomo Estévez, Argimiro Poveda Pacheco, Julio Rodríguez Monta-

no, Jorge Rodríguez Fleites, Mario Ravelo López, Ismael de Jesús Rodríguez Pérez, Carlos Manuel Quesada Turiño, Elio Riveron Pérez, Carlos Roselló Barceló, Antonio Ruiz de las Labranderas Medrano, Rosendo Rodríguez Ibarbia, Alejandro Rubio Sotolongo, Reinaldo Rivero Rodríguez, Rafael de los Reyes González, Carlos M. Reina Rodríguez, Jesús Rodríguez Ramos, Eudasio Rodríguez Lamas, José Guadalupe Reyes Hernández, Walter Rey Delgado, Almanzor Rodríguez Fernández, José Angel Rodríguez Mirabal, Pablo Ramírez Portas, Ramón F. Rodríguez León, Enrique Ruiz William Alfert, Roberto Román Muñoz, Rigoberto Roque Antuña, Rafael Rubio Quintana, Rafael Rayneri Villaverde, Roberto Rojas González, Orlando Rodríguez Alvarez, Albin Ross Díaz, Rómulo René del Rey Sori, Oscar Rodríguez Castro, Pedro Rodríguez Pérez, Enrique Fernando Rodríguez Castellanos, Jacinto Rodríguez Ruiz, Salvador Reinaldo González, Pedro Salas Amaro, Julio Antonio Suárez Lamas, Joaquín Silverio Ferrer, Adalberto Sánchez Rodríguez, José Manuel Santos González, Héctor Serrano Bonilla, Francisco Armando Suárez González, Serafin W. Sierra Contreras, Amador Sánchez Gómez, Mario Silva Pedroso, Carlos Armando Sarmiento Hernández, Máximo Sanabria Doy, Rolando Santana Arriete, Gustavo Suárez Izquierdo, Eduardo Sánchez Cadena, Daniel Santiago Payret, Manuel Sierra Lage, Antonio Salgado Canosa, Guillermo Salon Sacrista, José Luis Sosa Loret de Mola, Cándido Pedro Sierra Rey, Ramiro Sánchez Montesino, Juan de Sosa Chabao, Mario Smith Valdespares, Juan Bautista Sollozo López Centella, Donato Soto Haime, Ricardo Luis Sánchez Valdés, Fernando Salas Puig, Enrique San Martín Reyes, Jorge Soularí Flaguer, Luis Tomes García, Juan José Tarajano Martínez, Agustín La Torre Rodríguez, Arturo Eliseo Toraño Sánchez, Humberto Triana Tarrau, Gilberto Tabares Gómez, Antonio Terrada García, José Andrés Tuñón Calderín, Julio Adolfo Tarafa Betancourt, Héctor Lázaro Ugalde Vega, Juan Humberto Ulloa Calderón, Flavio Ulibarri Márques, Miguel Uría Rey, Oscar Vila Masot, José Antonio Vázquez García, Mario Valdés Acosta, Silvio Vigo Pacheco, José Luis Vivanco Pardo, Octavio Veloso de Armas, Roberto de Varona Villar, Marcos Alejandro Valdés Castilla, Juan Manuel Vives Espíndola, Saturnino Alberto Valera Yanes, Armando Vázquez Almagro, Adrián Vidal Aznarez, Jesús Antonio Váz-

quez Barrero, José Ricardo Vázquez García, Roberto Vázquez de la Cruz Martín, Carlos Manuel de Varona Segura-Bustamante, Rigoberto Varona Leblanch, Alfredo Villa García, Roberto Ernesto de Varona Loredo, Pedro Antonio Valdés Chao, Heriberto Villamiel Rodríguez, José Valladares Acosta, Max Vila Fontanilla, Roberto Yanes Valdés, Carlos Roberto Zayas Cruz, Antonio Rafael Zamora Munne. Miguel Angel Zequeira Fernández;

THE SUM OF TWENTY FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$25,000.00) for each of the following defendants.

Humberto Guerra Godoy, Ramiro González Infante, Enrique González Pérez, René Gómez Figuerola, Miguel Angel González Pando, Jesús Godoy Martell, Luis Alberto Guerra González, Armando García Batista, Ignacio Guiu Figueredo, Leopoldo Govantes Reyes, Tomás González Matos, Reinaldo García Canton, Alfredo Crispin Guerra Hernández, Pedro González Fernández, José González Martí, Gil González Zayas, Omar González Vázquez, Hugo J. Gómez Ollarzabal, Wilberto Gil Cárdenas, Silfredo González-Ferregur Vento, Federico García Gelis, Eugenio Gómez Chávez, Desiderio Gutiérrez Ruiz, Roberto Góngora Lara, Jorge González Cabrera, Bernardo González de la Torre Alvarez, Tomás Gajarte Ruedas, Luis González Lalondri, Justo Esteban Gómez Vázquez, Juan González Castiñeiras, Carlos Hernández Vega, Jorge Oscar Hernández González, Roberto de los Heros Picaza, Carlos Hernández Hernández, Wilberto Hernández Delgado, Angel de la Cruz Hernández Conde, Manuel Antonio Hernández Díaz, Pedro J. Herrera Herrada, José Ramón Hernández Castillo, Emilio Herrero Cabezas, Raúl Hernández Hernández, Erasmo Hernández Gil, Víctor Manuel Haber Haber, Francisco Hernández Luzardo, Serlando De Jesús Hernández Hernández, Huber Hernández Hernández, Jorge Hernández Chirroles, Rafael Hernández Nodarse, Gilberto Hernández Martínez, Orlando Hidalgo Carrero, Wilberto Hernández Valverde, Oscar Hernández Pino, Angel María Hernández Avila, Fernando Manuel Huergo, Jorge Infiesta Casals, Pedro Hipólito Iñigo García, Raúl Jiménez Domínguez, Mario Jauregui Cordero, Eric M. Jiménez Romero, Narciso Carlos Jorge Nasser, Emilio Jiménez Vela, Santiago Jons Camejo, Miguel López Benítez, Eduardo Lambert Martínez, José López He-

rrera, Eulogio Lavandeyra Torrijo, Rubén López Quintero, José López Jérez, Cristóbal López Núñez, Carlos López Lezcano, Manuel López Doniez, Manuel Lago García, Germán Luis Palomo, Martín Loriga Chávez, Manuel de José León Fernández, Milton Virgilio Anteo López Hidalgo Bosch, Roberto López Cabrera, Valentín Leyva Enríquez, Miguel Enrique López Pérez, Antonio Lago García, Silvino López Pérez, Heberto Lorenzo Morales, Isidoro López González, Raúl Leal García, Roy Lacret Figueredo, Rafael Madrigal Mendigutía, Pablo Martínez Paradedá, Ramón Masvidal Díaz, Isidro Jesús Montesino Acosta, Pedro Antonio Martínez Rivero, Julio Monzón Santos, José Maqueira Pérez, Salvador Madruga Otero, Nilo Messer Pujol, Francisco Gustavo Molina Saiz, Luis Gualberto Milo Martínez, Renato Morales Acevedo, Pedro Celestino Martínez Garcés, Luis Martínez López, Luis Moreno Alvarez, Pedro de la Caridad Monzón Ruiz, Félix Moa Sánchez, Lucio Martín Suárez, Luis Martínez Riesgo, Martín Martínez Fernández, Pedro Jesús C. Mateo Rodríguez, Néstor Martí Mansó, Hugo Molina Pérez, Julio Angel Mestre Cordovés, Luis Medina Pérez, Salvador Miranda Olano, Faustino Martínez Camejo, Raúl Marrero Franklin, Heriberto Moreira Izquierdo, Rigoberto Montesinos Rodríguez, José Rafael Martín Suárez, Roberto Maciá Vinent, José Martínez Suárez, Rafael Martín González, Waldo Martínez Ordoqui, Enrique Tito Martínez Rabentot, Jesús de C. Molina Quintana, Alfredo Murrillo Fleitas, Ortelio Fidel Martínez Cruz, Francisco Menéndez González, Roberto Ursino Matienzo Ugartemendía, Plinio Pablo Méndez González, Hilario Montoto González, Rigoberto Montero Pérez, Marcos Mesa Robert, Raúl Miranda Rodríguez, Luis Morse de la Barrera, Orlando Maldonado Pimienta, Idelfonso Martínez Hernández, Mario Medina Castillo, Epifanio Martínez Herrera, Alberto Muíña Bonis, Arturo Menéndez Rodil, Juan Montoya Maden, José Rafael Montalvo Gutiérrez, Anol Montoya Bruno, Manuel Molina Buchillon, Rafael Jorge Norat Moreno, Lorenzo Nodarse Pérez, Juan Ignacio Novaten Santiesteban, Reinaldo Núñez Aquia, Natividad Navarrete Fernández, César Noble Alzugaray, Víctor Navarro Vega, Israel Olivera Izquierdo, Eugenio Olenik Olenik, Eugenio Olivera Garriga, Claudio Orozco Crespo, Rafael Ortega Hernández, César Odriosola López, Héctor Ortega Lorenzo, Sergio Cirilo Oliva Rodrí-

guez, Berardo de la Oza Fernández, Juan Ortiz Rodríguez, Alberto Omnz Barreto, Eduardo Ramón Ochoa Peydro, Alberto Poveda Aguilar, Edilio Pereira Pérez, General Palencia Martínez, Carlos Pozo del Val, Bartolomé Pineda González, Eleuterio Pita Otaño, Ramón Emilio Piño Herrera, César Pérez Abreu-Lenzano, Humberto Pérez Zamora, Evidio Pereira Acosta, Orlando Pérez González, Félix Raúl Puig Sánchez, Santos de Jesús Pérez Simón, Adolfo Padrón Pedroso, Rolando Pazos Díaz, Luis José Pino Segundo, Armando Pastor Rodríguez, Ricardo Pérez Gómez, Pablo Danilo Sixto Pérez Herias, Enrique Portelles, Isidoro Piñeiro Castañeiras, Joaquín Pena Cid, José Pumarada García, Carlos Padrón Suárez, Roberto Pollack Diehl, Arturo Pérez Acosta, Rubén Pérez Mellado, Manuel Ernesto Portuondo Castro, Gabino Ponte Mandina, Alberto Gumersindo Pico Prada, Reinol Prendes Paz, Manuel León Ponce Martínez, Luis Pérez Rodríguez, Francisco Pérez Padrón, Giraldo Serafín Pentón Alfonso, Mariano Pérez Rodríguez, Francisco Pérez Castro, Herminio Pino Betancourt, Concepciano Peña Valdivia, Harris Pérez Fernández, Rigoberto Pérez Cruz, Rolando Pozo Greer, Hildo Pérez Pérez, Jesús Orestes Perdomo Rojo, Rafael Perera Jiménez, Luis Pino Herrera, Manuel Pérez Salvador, Manuel Pérez Márquez, Rubén Pérez Robira, Miguel Piñero Padilla, Everardo Pérez Noa, Angel Páez Plata, Salvador Pérez González, Guillermo Pérez La Rosa, Enrique Pérez Saavedra, Alberto Pérez Saavedra, Mario Octavio del Peral Mesa, Celso Pérez Rodríguez, Juan Norberto Prado Vernet, Ramón Lorenzo Quintana Balbón, Alfredo Rodríguez Fernández, Agustín Víctor Rodríguez Nieves, Miguel Angel Reyes García, Leonardo Ramos Parra, René Rey Delgado, Rafael Juan Rubio Baro, Luis de los Santos Ramos Naranjo, Gerardo M. Rivero Quesada, Manuel Rey Delgado, Angel Hipólito Rodríguez Lemus, Pedro Pablo Rojas Ramírez, Isidro Roque Hernández, Jorge Roblejo Lorient, Miguel Ramos Temprana, Máximo Rodríguez Pozo, Benito Rodríguez Agulleiro, Antolín Esteban Rosado Vicente, Hugo Román Acebedo, Mariano Camilo Rodríguez Lozano, Gerineldo Ramos Abréu, Rodolfo Rodríguez Viña, Alberto Armando Rodríguez Torres, Raúl Ramón Policarpio del Corazón de Jesús Ramírez Tomé, Carlos Rivero Collado, Pedro Reinaldo Rodríguez Frías, Pedro Ramón Romero Batista,

René Raimundo Rodríguez Díaz, Ramón Rodríguez Felipe, Severino Raúl Rodríguez Marichal, Cecilio Ibrahin Ruiz Pérez, Garcilaso César Rey Padrón, Rafael Rodríguez Salcedo, Jacome Gerino Rodríguez González, José Ramírez Sosa, Rogelio Rodríguez González, Roberto Rodríguez González, Juan Rodríguez Pérez, Armando Apolinar Rizo Luejes, José Gabriel Ríos Risech, Tomás Rodríguez Fuentes, Pedro Ríos Valdés, Reinaldo Rodríguez Pérez, Martín Ramis González, Mario Juan Rodríguez Muñoz, Oscar Rodríguez Rodríguez, Mariano Rodríguez Bande, Ibrahin Rodríguez Chávez, Juan Roque Bode, Osvaldo Rojas Enriquez Hernández, Carlos Reinaldo Hernández, Pablo Rodríguez García, José Eugenio Sosa Cabrera, Angel Juan Santos Vega, Daniel Santana Grande, Mario M. Francisco Sánchez Abascal, Jorge Armando Sánchez León, Miguel Angel Sosa Fonseca, Raúl Sáenz de la Torre, Miguel Angel Sánchez León, Raúl Sánchez Merciau, Salvador Serna Patterson, Rolando Soles Pi, Rafael Suárez Loinaz Guzmán, Renato Santos Prieto, Erasmo Sotuyo Pedraza, Alberto Sibero Rego, Ovilio Suárez Santos, Enrique Saavedra Gómez, Jorge Luis Silveira Riera, Julio Sánchez de Cárdenas, Miguel Soto Díaz, Raúl Socorro Mejías, Jorge Silva Pedroso, Guido Sanz Pérez del Villar, Rodolfo Sorondo Quintana, Abelardo Silva Perdomo, Juan F. Sordo González, Paulino Sosa Valdés, Julio Serrano González, Roberto Sánchez López, Félix Santiesteban Castillo, Luis Suárez León, Humberto Jesús Sánchez Valdés, Israel Alberto Sarduy Casales, Daniel Santovenia Rodríguez, Ramiro Sánchez Oliva, José Jesús María Sosa Cabrera, Pedro Joaquín Subirats Urbay, Lorenzo Serrano Pérez, Tomás Bernabé Sierra Blanco, Pedro Santana Puente, Jacinto Sánchez Rubio, José Saad Pérez, Anastasio Suárez Viera, Orlando Sanabria Travieso, José Smith Castro, Rubén Soto Hayet, Herminio Sánchez Valdés, Teodoro Suárez de la Osa, Guillermo Sueiro Fernández, Oscar Sánchez Hernández, Raúl de la Torre Pita, Pedro Pablo Torres Hernández, Luis Tejera Gutiérrez, Marco Antonio Torres Guerra, Angel Francisco Tocado Goenaga, Carlos Tomasino Marrero, Reinaldo Torrente Espiña, José Manuel Tejera Gutiérrez, Rafael Torres Jiménez, Dorotheo Osvaldo Toledo Niebla, Carlos M. Tuero Zayas, Fer-

nando Octavio Torres Mena, Juan Fidel Torres Mena, Antonio Delio Toca Cuenca, Roberto Torres Fernández, Mario Eduardo Torres Fábregas, Pablo Ubides Díaz, Orlando Urra Quiñones, Osvaldo de Varona de Varona, Raúl Elías Vallejo Pérez, José Rafael Verdeguez Luque, Carlos Manuel Villaverde Valdés, José Luis Viciado Fernández, Antonio Venzal Alomá, Francisco Vicens Vega, José Manuel Ventoso Caamaño, Ismael Valladares Arocha, Orlando José Viñals Pifarrer, José J. Vergara Rodríguez, Tomas Vázquez Casanova, Carlos Augusto Viera Milián, Emilio de la C. Valdés Calderón, Rosendo Valdés Delgado, José Francisco Valdés Calderón, Jaime Varela Canosa, Agustín Vega Elozua, Francisco Vera Rodríguez, Luis Valdés Tabares, Domiliano Vázquez Cárdenas, Jorge Vega Casas, Carlos Viera Morales, Néstor Fitzgerald William, José Benito Yánes Ramos, Irán Yánes Ramos, Carlos Yanez Ziegenhgrir, Miguel Angel Zambrana Ponce, Eusebio Marcelo Zamora Acosta y Salvador Ziegenhirt Menéndez.

Notarize and send copies of this resolution to the state organizations that should know about the same, for its implementation.

Thus, this, our sentence, we give and sign.

Major Augusto R. Martínez Sánchez
PRESIDENT

Major Sergio del Valle Jiménez
JUDGE

Major Guillermo García Frias
JUDGE

Major Juan Almeida Bosque
JUDGE

Major Manuel Piñeiro Losada
JUDGE

APPENDIX

**Thugs, murderers,
latifundists,
the upper class, and
declassed elements
made up the
mercenary brigade**

A brief examination of the social composition of the mercenary brigade sent by the Yankee imperialists to invade Cuba silences the arguments given by some mercenaries that they had come because they were "confused", that they had believed their yankee masters' assurances that they would receive help from the people, that they had come to fight for so-called ideals.

Imperialism hurled at Cuba on the 17th of April, 1961, the most heterogenous military grouping it could find. In it the crime of treason to the country was shared by privileged persons of all kinds, dispossessed by the Revolution from their means of extortion and exploitation —latifundists, landlords, politicians who had enriched themselves while in office, or their heirs, phalangist priests, criminals, and one hundred and ninety-four ex-members of the army of the tyranny, included among them some of the most bloody murderers of the Batista regime.

Kennedy and his generals could not recruit any other defenders of the highly touted "representative democracy" to attack Cuba except imperialism's old collaborators in the semi-colonial sacking of the country; the thugs and murderers of the defeated tyranny; the corrupt politicians that had enriched themselves by handing the nation over to the Yankee monopolies; and the exploiters of all kinds who had lost their privileges with the triumph of the Revolution.

Not one type of parasite, exploiter, embezzler, extortionist, criminal, or murderer was missing from the mercenary brigade. In addition to servile treason on behalf of the imperialists who armed and sent them, all of them had their own personal interests in recovering old privileges and lost positions. All of them wanted to continue swindling, sacking, and massacring our people, as they had done before the triumph of the Revolution.

In order to know what kind of "ideals" the invaders came to defend, it is enough to examine the composition of the brigade and to total the amount of property its members intended to recover with the defeat of the Revolution.

The brigade was composed of:

100 latifundists.

24 large property owners.

67 landlords (owners of apartment houses).

112 big businessmen.

194 ex-soldiers and henchmen of the tyranny.

179 idle rich.

35 industrial magnates.

112 declassed elements and others.

Together they intended to recover the following:

923,000 acres of land.

9,666 houses and apartment buildings.

70 factories.

10 sugar mills.

3 banks.

5 mines.

12 cabarets and bars, and many other types of property.

The invaders who attacked our country and attempted to overthrow the Revolution with the direct aid of the Yankee imperialists virtually promised that, on the triumph of the invasion, they would restore all the enormous latifundia and exploiting companies to the North American companies that had been swindling Cuba for more than fifty years. Before the Revolution it was these companies, fundamentally, that controlled the entire economic activity of the country, deforming it according to their own interests and convenience, at the cost of the underdeveloped economy of Cuba, of subjugation to the one-crop economy,

of limited industrialization, of absolute dependence of the North American market, of loss of national sovereignty and independence, and of hunger and misery for the Cuban workers, the Cuban people.

This means, that in reality, the mercenary invaders would try to restore not only their own latifundia, industrial enterprises, and businesses, but also the large landholdings of Yankee companies, the most important mines of the country, the large oil refineries and public services, the most important banks, etc., that before the Revolution were controlled by the imperialists and made up a decisive segment of the national economy.

EXPLOITERS AND PARASITES IN THE INVADING BRIGADE

The mercenary brigade, as can be seen by the above figures, was made up of latifundists and landhogs, true feudal lords that represented a past of backwardness and misery throughout the Cuban countryside. They were possessors of hundreds of thousands of acres of land. They had pitilessly condemned the families of agricultural workers to hunger and despair, stealing land under one government after another and throwing thousands of peasants off the land, appropriating their farms and fields.

Another large group, in addition to the ex-army men and thugs of the tyranny, were the landlords; this variety of parasites had been swindling the people with exorbitant rents for decades. Among those included in this group, as among the latifundists and landhogs, were numerous politicians who had enriched themselves while holding office under the so-called "representative democratic" governments, in many cases, their heirs who had abandoned the country several months previously.

We see some eloquent examples among the invaders:

Fabio Freire Aguilera, owner of 47,866 acres of land, owner of the Santa Isabel Sugar Mill, three shipping companies, twelve houses, and several apartment buildings; relative of a well-known politician from the province of

Oriente, Delio Núñez Mesa, who used his public office to increase his personal fortune.

Alberto Fowler Perilliat, owner of 63,230 acres of land, owner of the "Narcisa Sugar Mill", son of the latifundist, George Fowler.

Carlos López Oña, controlling stockholder in the Santa Lutgarda and Nazabal Sugar Mills, owner of 56,446 acres of land and dozens of houses and apartment buildings.

Humberto Cortina López, owner of more than 33,330 acres of land; grandson of José Manuel Cortina, well-known land-hog from the province of Pinar del Río, who through a powerful law firm, stole land from hundreds of peasants.

Santiago, Omar and Lincoln Babum Franco, owners of extensive timberlands and lumber mills in the province of Oriente, owners of a cement factory, a fleet of ships, and a construction company.

Eduardo Zayas Bazán y Loret de Mola, latifundist, owner of 10,900 acres of land, owner of a fleet of shrimp boats, owner of dozens of houses and apartment buildings.

José Andreu Santos, owner of 12,045 acres of land, son of José Raimundo Andreu, ex-senator who was practically assured life tenure in virtue of the political machinery of the past and its dividing up of congressional seats. He was at various times Minister of Public Health and Minister of Trade, thanks to which, starting out as a modest doctor in Encrucijada, Las Villas, he became a millionaire, owner of large apartment buildings and estates in Artemisa and in Las Villas. His most lucrative deals were in bids for government contracts in which the graft was divided up, as for example, the contract for the building of the hospital in Topes de Collantes.

Manuel de Varona Segura Bustamante, son of Manuel Antonio de Varona, widely known as "Tony" Varona, ex-President of the Senate, ex-Minister of Labor, and ex-Prime Minister of the Prío Socarrás government, grandson of a rich cattleman from the province of Camagüey and

notably enriched through business deals negotiated by virtue of his governmental positions. The father of this mercenary, sufficiently well-known by the people of Cuba as one of the most hated figures on the political scene in the past, is one of the principal leaders of the counter-revolutionary exiles in the United States. He has openly proclaimed his wish for Yankee intervention in his country.

Jorge Alonso Pujol Bermúdez, owner of 5,213 acres of land and many lucrative big business; son of Guillermo Alonso Pujol, ex-Senator and vice-President of the Republic, a millionaire by virtue of the Public Treasury, enriched by negotiations with state bonds and such swindles as the so-called Toll Certificates.

Segundo Borges Enrique, ex-Governor of Las Villas, ex-Major of Cabaiguán, member of the United Action Party of the Batista regime, son of a millionaire cattleman in Las Villas. He too was a cattleman, a member of the so-called "Meat Trust" which for years speculated with hunger and poverty of cuban people.

José Manuel Gutiérrez Areces, heir to 7,799 acres of land, and the Areces Bank of Matanzas, son of José Manuel Gutiérrez, ex-Senator and lawyer for the large trusts who grew rich by virtue of his governmental position.

Ulises Carbó Yániz, figurehead for different governments as state contractor, son of Sergio Carbó, who grew rich on journalistic black-mail through the magazine "La Semana" and the newspaper Prensa Libre, receiving large sums of money from past governments and attempting to fool the people with so-called "gifts".

Edgardo Buttari Puig, son of Edgardo Buttari, obscure member of the consular service, twice elevated to the position of Minister of Trade. He utilized a "campaign" against the so-called "Pain Trust", composed of the rich druggists, Sarrá, Taquechel, and Johnson, to organize a chamber of owners of pharmacies and laboratories. This produced a monopoly on medicine in a pact that made millions of pesos for him, after which he constructed several apartment buildings.

Gustavo García Montes, son of Gustavo García Montes and nephew of "Yoyo" García Montes, Minister of Education and Prime Minister under the tyranny, who made millions acting in complicity with the Batista government.

Carlos Emilio Ochoa Núñez, son of politician "Millo" Ochoa and grandson of the notorious banker Núñez who directed a national banking federation and financed the 14,000,000 pesos plan for the so-called "Southern River System" with a brokerage fee of 10% that allowed him to appropriate 1,400,000 pesos in the operation.

Oscar Osle Guibert, rich cattleman and owner of 41,300 acres of land divided into different latifundias.

Fausto García Menocal, financier who grew rich among other families on the basis of misappropriation of funds and taxes. He was the first cousin of Major Jacinto Menocal, one of the bloodiest henchmen of the tyranny, who was hanged by the people in Los Palacios, Pinar del Río, when the Batista regime fell.

Rafael Madrigal Mendigutía, owner of 11,133 acres of land, a dairy, and 6 apartment houses. He is the son of Rafael Madrigal, well-known cattleman and latifundist, and nephew of the ex-Senator and Batista-figurehead, Mendigutía.

José Ramón Guerra Rojas, tobacco latifundist of San Juan y Martínez, son of José Ramón Guerra, owner of the vast tobacco plantation known as "Hoyo de Monterrey".

Enrique Falla Grabb, heir of Falla Gutiérrez and the nephew of Viriato Gutiérrez, well-known millionaire latifundist.

Mamerto Luzárraga Rupia, heir of Mamerto Luzárraga, notorious latifundist landhog from the province of Las Villas.

Many other big landowners and latifundists who grew rich on the poverty and misery of the peasant masses came in the invasion to reinstate their regime of misery and oppression. The following list is typical:

	<i>Acres of land owned</i>	<i>Other businesses</i>
Abelardo Campa Díaz	1,866	a quarry
Amado Fernández Cruz	3,267	a cement factory
Rubén de Quesada Rioseco	7,366	
José Raúl Martínez Urioste	11,796	
Ramón Raúl Vicens Valdés	6,000	
Israel Norberto Abel Sánchez	4,833	
Israel Abel Pacheco	4,125	
Arcadio Carballosa Pérez	4,940	
Roberto F. Mancebo García Ríos	4,666	
Juan Montalvo Iñiguez	30,000	
Juan José Arteaga Moreno	11,666	
José Raúl Beltrán Lamar	6,866	
Enrique Hernández Acevedo	4,666	
Luis E. Mustelier	3,933	
Práxedes Pelegrín Hernández	4,000	
José Tomeu Hernández	9,000	
Luis Castellanos López	8,500	cattle and real estate
Eddy Luis Lima Montero	4,330	
José Ramón Reguera Villa	5,548	
José Antonio Benítez Rojas	9,366	
Raúl Jiménez Domínguez	4,400	
Pablo Martínez Paradedá	4,980	
José Eugenio Sosa Cabrera	12,166	
Manuel Falla Sanguily	4,030	
José Antonio Prats Barroso	*unde- termined number	A housing de- velopment and 4 apartment buildings.

Likewise attracted to the expedition were parasites who were basically dedicated to the lucrative business of speculating with real estate and cheating the people with exorbitant rents. Here are some of them:

Houses and apartment buildings

Delio Peña Molina	30
José E. del Campo Palets	* Undetermined Number
Mario Córdova Ferreiro	10
Roberto Perkins Salas	* Undetermined Number
Guido Conill Jiménez	6
Sergio E. Fonts Serrano	* Undetermined Number
Carlos Armando Sarmiento	8
Francisco Manuel Camargo	4
Mario Mendoza Ortiz	10
Manuel Molina Godínez	The <i>El Chico</i> housing development
Jorge Silva Pedroso	1 housing development

* *Undetermined Number* means that these men misrepresented their holdings through different entities and legal formulas that concealed the true amount of their properties.

Many other contractors and politicians who dedicated themselves to businesses just as lucrative came in the mercenary brigade. Among them were not a few government officials who grew rich during the Batista tyranny, such as:

José A. Miró Torra, son of the counterrevolutionary leader-in-exile, José Miró Cardona, who served as a figurehead for the large foreign trust that sacked Cuba, ex-President of the Bar-Association, defender of the ex-President of the Republic, Ramón Grau San Martín, in the scandalous Case 82, when he was charged with the theft of 174,000,000 pesos from the Public Treasury. He was, in addition, the defender of Captain Joaquín Casillas Lumpuy, murderer at the service of Yankee imperialism, who killed

the sugar workers' leader, Jesús Menéndez, and enriched himself considerably through all these activities. The father of this mercenary is trying to "represent" Cuba, figuring as President of the factional counterrevolutionary organizations supported and sustained by the Yankee imperialists of the United States. He openly advocates foreign intervention in his country.

Oscar Diez Argüelles Pertierra, son of Oscar Diez Argüelles, owner of the Montmartre cabaret, and nephew of Indalecio Pertierra, impresario of the Hippodrome in Marianao, well-known gambler who enjoyed the favor of the tyranny.

Cándido Mora Morales, Batista figurehead, auditor for the Congressional Palace, and well-known gangster.

José Ramón Gutiérrez, son of "Piquin" Gutiérrez, who was chief of the radio censors during the Batista tyranny.

Pedro Salas Amaro, brother of Alberto Salas Amaro, Batista figurehead, condemned to prison by the Revolutionary Court.

Salvador Ziegenhirt Menéndez, brother-in-law of Santiago Rey Pernas, Prime Minister under the tyranny and partner of Batista's wife, Marta Fernández, in her rackets.

Armando Galis Menéndez, son of ex-Major Oscar Galis Menéndez, Under-Secretary of the Interior during the Batista regime.

Rubén González de la Heria, ex-Major of the district of La Esperanza during the tyranny, embezzler, and intimate friend of ex-General José Eleuterio Pedraza, well-known murderer.

If we continue detailing the composition of the mercenary brigade, we will find new business magnates, exploiters such as Julio Muzio Díaz, José A. Molet Rosales, and Felipe Rivero Díaz, each one the owner of a mine in production; rich cattlemen such as Miguel Cervera Consuegra, Fermín de Goicochea Sánchez, José Manuel Paz Cañizares, Emilio Hernández Trujillo, and Tomás de Jesús

Vidueiras; more sugar mill owners such as Marcelino Miyares Sotolongo, owner of the Amazonas Sugar Mill, and Eugenio Sardiñas Menocal, owner of the Santa Marta Sugar Mill, and many other parasites of the old society swept away by the Revolution.

Falangist priests were not absent from the mercenary expedition. Priests such as Fermín Asla Polo, a Spanish priest who called himself Ismael de Lugo in order to conceal his true name, a reactionary individual who confessed to having fought in Franco's army against the people of Spain, came dressed in combat clothes as a paratrooper.

Other falangist priests who came in the invasion were Segundo Las Heras Cabo and Tomás Macho Castillo, stalwart reactionaries, enemies of the Revolution and the people.

There were traitors to the labor movement such as Antonio Collada Suárez of the traitorous band of Eusebio Mujal Barniol, hated union stooge who was at the beck and call of the tyranny; Mario Cruz Rivero, follower of Mujal and embezzler of union funds; Jorge Infiesta Casals, Angel María Hernández Avila, Verardo de la Osa Fernández, and Eric Garcés Hernández.

There were Cubans who had enlisted in the United States Army and had left in order to participate in the treason's act of invading their country: among them were Jacinto Rodríguez Ruiz, Edwin González Morera, Serafín González Gómez, Roberto Carballo Díaz, and José Manuel Macías Riera.

THUGS AND MURDERERS IN THE MERCENARY BRIGADE

In the so-called Brigade 2506, despite affirmations to the contrary by the Yankee press and some of the mercenaries in the first days who showed pretensions of honor, there were not only dozens of *batistianos* who had grown rich during the tyranny, as shown in the above paragraphs, but also one hundred and ninety-four ex-army men of all ranks who had supported and defended the Batista tyranny up to the end, including some of the best known thugs and

murderers of the hated regime, which was defeated by the revolutionary action of the people.

The man who was named chief of the invading brigade, José Alfredo Pérez San Román, was one of the captains in the armed forces of the tyranny. Together with him came men of the same rank, such as ex-Majors José Martínez Suárez and Jaime Varela Canosa, ex-captains Salvador Ziegenhirt Menéndez, Carlos Jorge Nasser, José Manuel Vives Spíndola, Harry Pérez Hernández, and Juan Antonio Santamarina Bermúdez; 7 first lieutenants, 11 second lieutenants, 19 sergeants, 14 corporals, and some 59 soldiers and policemen of the dissolved armed forces of the tyranny.

APPENDIX

Separate trial of the outstanding murderers and war criminals

On the 8th of September, 1961, the Revolutionary Court held a separate trial, in the city of Santa Clara, of 14 of the most notorious thugs and murderers of the tyranny who participated in the mercenary invasion condemning 5 of them to death and sentencing 9 others to 30 years imprisonment.

The war criminals who were executed or condemned to prison were extremely well-known to the people of Cuba for their crimes and abuses. Their file of brutalities and murders committed against the population in the years of the tyranny and the years before, will serve as a yardstick to judge the ethics of the men whom imperialism recruited to attack the people. There is no better definition for the so-called "representative democracy" imperialism who intend to impose with invasions such as that of Playa Girón, than the characteristics and the criminal lowness of those murderers.

The Revolutionary Courts sentenced to death, Ramón Calviño Insua, Jorge King Yung (alias "El Chino King"), otherwise the chinese King, Emilio Soler Puig (alias otherwise "the Dead"), Roberto Pérez Cruzata, and Antonio Valentín Padrón Cárdenas.

Ramón Calviño Insua was a corporal in the National Police of the tyranny and a monstrous murderer at the order of the criminal Esteban Ventura Novo. He committed numerous murders; he tortured and abused prisoners in cases such as that of Angela González del Valle y Gutiérrez, whom he beat, stripped and savagely abused in the company of other thugs; he did the same to Arnaldo Román Rivero Alfonso, now captain in the Rebel Army and paymaster of the Ministry of Industry; he savagely beat and abused Idelisa Esperón Lozano; Ramón Gutiérrez was arrested and brutally beaten for several hours, causing wounds that did not heal; he (Calviño) kicked and beat Alberto Pérez Clavilla for several hours and he gave the same treatment to many other revolutionaries who were arrested.

This criminal, sent here with other thugs and exploiters in the mercenary invasion, was a gangster from the word go. In the days of the underground fight against the tyranny, he infiltrated the revolutionary ranks, succeeding in confusing various revolutionaries in order to turn them over later to government assassins; he murdered on repeated occasions. There were the cases of the murder of the young revolutionary, Marcelo Salado, at G and 25th Streets in Havana on April 9th, 1958; the murder of young Julio Alvarez Eduarte in the Ninth Police Station in July, 1958; the murder of Andrés Torres, killed on the 28th of June, 1958, at Juan Bruno Zayas and Lacret Streets, Santos Suárez, Havana; and the murders of many other revolutionaries, either perpetrated by Calviño himself or with him as accessory. He was indicted in absentia in Case No. 817/58 of the Court of Instruction of the Third Section; Case No. 163/58 of Jaruco; Case No. 418/59 of the Fifth Section; Case No. 373/59 of the Fourth Section; Case No. 191/59 of Jaruco; all for murder; Case No. 976/59 of the Third Section for torture and mistreatment; Case No. 1982/59 of Marianao for housebreaking; and Case No. 2103 of the Homicide Division of the Fifth Section.

The questioning of this mercenary by a panel of newsmen on national radio and television hook-ups a few days after his capture, was one of the most revealing glimpses into the composition of the invading brigade. In response to newsmen's questions concerning each of his murders during the tyranny, known by all the people, the criminal denied his direct participation. Nevertheless, during the televised questioning, several revolutionaries, including women, accused him to his face of committing the most savage tortures and bestialities against them, pathetically relating the form in which that henchman and his supporters killed and arrested revolutionaries. They clearly showed his criminal heart and contributed to making even more evident the character and objectives of the mercenary invasion launched against Cuba by the Yankee imperialists, which included that monstrous criminal among its best known figures.

Jorge King Yung (alias "El Chino" King) was another thug of the tyranny. In the middle of 1960, in the company

of other counterrevolutionaries, he won the confidence of a rebel soldier, Raúl Pupo Morales, who was the watchman of the "Las Salinas" wharf in Matanzas, his objective was to steal a boat, illegally flee the country, and then enlist in the mercenary troops that were training in the United States for the invasion of Cuba. He surprised the watchman, vilely murdering him in the presence of his wife and young children. He later stabbed him repeatedly, tearing out the viscera, after which he kidnapped the wife and children of the victim, whom he took as hostages to the state of Florida, where he was protected by the Yankee authorities.

Emilio Soler Puig (alias "the Dead") was responsible for the murder of longshoremen leader, Aracelio Iglesias in 1948, and the death of "Pipi" Hernández, exile from the Dominican Republic, in 1955. The first murder took place in a sneaky, criminal manner, before many longshoremen. He was indicted and tried for homicide in Case No. 652 of 1948, in the Court of Instruction of the Fourth Section, and in Case No. 1224 of 1955, in the same court, for murder. He was also tried in other cases for threats, misrepresentation, and assault.

Antonio Valentín Padrón Cárdenas was a notorious murderer who committed many crimes in Oriente. He was an intimate friend of "the Jackal", Fermín Cowley Gallegos, hated chief of operations against revolutionary action in the city of Holguín during the Batista regime. For his crimes he was condemned to death in a number of cases: No. 26, of 1959, by the Revolutionary Court of Holguín; No. 7/59 of the Revolutionary Court of Mayarí, Nos. 28, 41, 52, 65, 91, 93, and 101 of 1959, in the Revolutionary Court of Victoria de las Tunas, some of them for the murder of Pelayo Cusido Torres and other young revolutionaries from Oriente. He was also charged in numerous cases with torture, mistreatment, and other crimes.

Roberto Pérez Cruzata was a traitor to the Revolution, who in the month of January, 1959, on the occasion of the arrest of Dr. Rafael Escalona Almeida in the Motorized Section of the National Revolutionary Police, received orders from the traitor Humberto Rodríguez Díaz to kill the arrested man. He vilely carried out these orders, machinegunning him, a deed which resulted in his being

condemned, together with Rodríguez Díaz in Case No. 52 of 1959, by the Revolutionary Court of Havana. They both were able to escape from La Cabaña prison, fleeing to the United States, where those despicable persons told one lie after another about the Cuban Revolution.

The nine other war criminals tried and condemned by the Revolutionary Court in a separate trial on the 8th of September, 1961, were thugs like these, murderers like these. They were known to the Cuban people every bit as well. They had supported and defended the tyranny, obtaining prerogatives and privileges as members of the repressive forces, in exchange for murdering and massacring revolutionaries who openly faced their bullets in order to free their country from tyranny and from all foreign exploiters. It cost the Cuban people 20,000 lives to break the chains of imperialism and the tyranny it was coddling. The greater part of these deaths were due to the criminal attacks of murderers such as these, who in the name of "representative democracy" were later sent by the imperialist to attack Cuba.

Here are some of the "exploits" of these "heroes" of imperialism, condemned to 30 years in prison by the people of Cuba:

Pedro Armando Santiago Villa (alias "El Bicho"), who was a trusted henchman of the murderer Conrado Carratalá, after betraying the 26th of July Revolutionary Movement. He committed many crimes. He tortured and informed on many revolutionaries; he has been indicted in several cases.

José Franco Mira, henchman of the Bureau of Investigation of the tyranny, and murderer of the young revolutionary, Sergio González ("the Priest") as well as the revolutionary Efraín Alfonso Liriano.

Rogelio Milián Pérez, accused of murdering and torturing in the 14th Police Station during the tyranny, where he was the personal delegate of the Captain. He participated in the arrest and murder of the young revolutionary, Reinaldo García, in 1957 at that police station.

Andrés de Jesús Vega, a thug, assassin of young Raúl Mercuello Barrios, and three more revolutionaries. He also

participated in the events on Humboldt street, where a group of revolutionaries were massacred by the repressive forces of the tyranny.

José Rafael Machado Concepción, guilty of the death of young Valeriano López Broche, in the town of Camajuaní.

José Ramón Conte Hernández, fugitive in Case No. 448 of 1959 in the Revolutionary Court of Havana, killer of the worker and student Antonio Díaz Santana.

Nicolás Hernández Méndez, murderer of Mario Cardet Pérez and other revolutionaries. He was a member of the repressive gang of Rolando Masferrer which during the tyranny, operated in the zones of Holguín and Victoria de las Tunas. He committed numerous brutalities and abuses.

Pedro Humberto Reyes Bellos, accused of many murders and tortures committed in Victoria de las Tunas, in Oriente.

Here, in brief, are the men sent by Yankee imperialism, organized in an invasion at a cost of over forty-five million dollars which means its first and greatest defeat in America. These are the men sent to attack the people of Cuba and to restore oppression and semi-colonial pillage in this Island. These are the men sent to halt the glorious struggle for the emancipation of the Cuban people and to prevent this struggle from serving as an example for the other peoples of Latin America, which are rising up against exploitation and misery.

APPENDIX

**Cuba
is not
alone !**

*The people of
Latin America and the
whole world back the
Cuban Revolution*

The Criminal bombing of Cuban cities and airfields by imperialist planes on April 15, 1961, and the first shots announcing the mercenary invasion of Playa Girón on the 17th of that month, awakened a magnificent and militant solidarity with the Cuban people and their Revolution throughout Latin America and the world.

The imperialists tried to cover up their vandalism with one of the most intense campaigns of slander they have ever launched against any nation. Up to the very day of their crushing defeat, the news agencies of imperialism (AP and UPI) spread all kinds of lies about the supposedly "victorious" mercenary troops, about the character of the invasion and its origin and aims. Throughout the continent, the reactionary press did everything in its power to try to confuse the peoples, following up the campaign started in Washington.

Nevertheless, the imperialist character of the aggression was clear to all the peoples, and a strong movement of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution was manifest all over the world in hundreds of rallies protesting and condemning the imperialist aggression.

Workers, students, and honest intellectuals everywhere went out into the streets and voiced their deep indignation and their decision to help crush the reactionary and imperialist forces.

The elaborate plans of the imperialists and their lackeys were shattered by the Cuban people's firm decision to win, expressed in their slogan "**Patria o Muerte**" (Fatherland or death), which came to life on the battlefield, and in the serene and exemplary attitude of a vigilant and militant rearguard.

And the plans were also shattered by a wall of clenched fists raised by the peoples of Latin America and the world, supporting the Cuban Revolution and strongly condemning the imperialist aggressors.

Cuba became a symbol, an emblem of the anti-imperialist struggle. The victory of the Cuban people against the invaders meant the triumph of the Revolution of the poor for the poor, which is the cause of all peoples oppressed and exploited by imperialism.

In Latin America, solidarity with the Cuban Revolution was sweeping, militant, invincible.

MEXICO

The President of the Republic of Mexico, Adolfo López Mateos, confirmed his government's policy of non-intervention and respect for the self-determination of nations on the day after the aggression occurred.

After hearing about the April 17 invasion, ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas declared that "all countries will demand an accounting from those responsible for this great crime of aggression against a small country by another one with large, powerful resources."

Tens of thousands of Mexicans took to the streets on their own to express their repudiation of the imperialist aggression.

At seven o'clock in the evening on April 18, a giant rally of over fifty thousand people marched from the corner of Juárez and Bucareli Avenues in Mexico City to the National Palace to protest the aggression against Cuba. The demonstrators carried banners bearing revolutionary slogans such as "Patria o Muerte", "Cuba si, Yankees no", "Down with American imperialism", "Long Live Fidel Castro and the Revolution". Leading the demonstration was an enormous dummy ridiculing American imperialism. Finally the multitude converged in front of the governmental Palace in the Zocalo Plaza General Lázaro Cárdenas and other speakers addressed the rally.

Gerardo Unzueta declared in the name of the Communist Party of Mexico: "The aggression against Cuba is an act of international piracy that American imperialism has been preparing for many months with the vain purpose of crushing the Cuban Revolution."

In the city of Morelia, another demonstration of several hundred persons carried large signs supporting the Cuban

people and condemning "the aggressor, Yankee imperialism" They marched through the main streets of the city attacked the Mexican-American Institute and set fire to it.

Although there were no wounded reported as a result of the incident, it was known that an American couple, the Sannebecks, known for their anti-Cuban attitude, had to flee down the fire escape to avoid the wrath of the people.

In Mexico City the U. S. Embassy had to be guarded by a strong detachment of policemen and soldiers. The American school had to suspend its classes and send home its 700 students.

By the 18th, over one thousand volunteers had formally committed themselves to go to Cuba to "fight the aggression" despite the fact they risked losing their Mexican citizenship. That same day, an unspecified number of volunteers gathered at the Polytechnic Institute with the same objective.

The government took special measures to protect the American Embassy in the face of possible demonstrations against the United States. These measures were taken after students and workers took reprisals against the newspaper "El Sol" in Puebla, a supporter of imperialist interests. The demonstrators responded to the police repression resulting in clashes in which about 30 persons were injured. Also several thousand university students carried out a torchlight parade in protest against the U.S. aggression and broadcasted special programs in support of Cuba from the university radio station.

On April 19 some five thousand students from the Polytechnic Institute held another demonstration in support of the Cuban Revolution and in condemnation of the imperialist aggression. The students marched 12 kilometers from the campus of the Institute west of the city to the Plaza of the Constitution, across from the National Palace, chanting "Cuba si, Yankees no". They carried large signs with slogans such as "Long live Cuba", "Fidel, we are with Cuba", and "Death to American imperialism". American businesses located on the streets through which the students marched closed their doors for fear of being attacked by the demonstrators.

For two days in a row students in the city of Puebla marched through the streets to protest the mercenary aggression against Cuba. Two thousand students marched in the city despite police mobilization during the first demonstration. Puebla students clashed with the police after stonning the building of the newspaper "El Sol" which was known for its reactionary position. The building was badly damaged and six students were hurt.

Demonstrations organized by students and supported by manual and white-collar workers in support of the Cuban Revolution and in condemnation of the imperialist aggression were held in the cities of Obregon, State of Sonora; Monterrey, State of Nuevo León; and Toluca, State of Mexico.

On April 21 in Mexico City, a huge demonstration in which over 200,000 persons participated—students, workers, intellectuals—was suddenly attacked with tear gas bombs, night sticks, and other weapons by members of the police, some in uniforms, and some in plain clothes. They were attacked when, after marching peacefully along the "Paseo de la Reforma" and Juárez and Madero Avenues, they approached the Plaza of the Constitution to hold a meeting across from the National Palace. The demonstrators were violently dispersed, despite the fact that members of the youth organization of the Institutional Revolutionary Party—PRI (governmental party) were among them.

The demonstrators were members of the Mexican Electrical Workers Union, the Teachers College, the Normal Superior School, the National University, Friends of Cuba Press Associations, the National Polytechnic Institute, the Newspaper Guild, and many other political, student, and labor organizations.

There were also clashes with the police at the Plaza of the Constitution, which was occupied by strong army detachments.

A large student demonstration in support of the Cuban people held on April 21 in Matamoros City near the U.S. Mexican border was attacked with tear gas bombs by right-wing elements.

The attackers were repulsed by the demonstrators who rallied in the city's main square shouting "Cuba si, Yankees

no", "Long live Castro", and "Non-intervention", expressing their condemnation of the invasion of Cuba and their repudiation of President John F. Kennedy.

The demonstrators, estimated at some three thousand, attacked American photographers and newspapermen who arrived in the city to report on the demonstration.

Rubén Jaramillo, leader of the farmers in the state of Morelos, Guerrero, and Puebla—and who was later murdered—asked President López Mateos to investigate the criminal bombing of Cuban cities by the mercenary air force sent by the imperialists.

"The U. S. Government should be made responsible for any aggression against Cuba", declared Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers.

The Institutional Revolutionary Party-PRI (government party) declared through Rodolfo González Guevara, Federal District Leader, that "the President of the Republic, the government, and with them the people and our party, have not curtailed our full support for the Cuban people, who are fighting openly and frankly against imperialist forces".

Women who attended the "Conference of Women from México, Central America, and the Caribbean" approved a resolution condemning the American Government, "which has not hesitated to attack a small island where the people decided to be the master of their own destiny".

BRAZIL

The then President of Brazil, Janio Quadros, confirmed the Brazilian Government's attitude of not submitting to imperialist blackmail, which was being used to pressure Latin American Governments to act against Cuba. He expressed "concern about the events taking place on the island as a result of the mercenary invasion coming from Guatemala and the United States". Quadros reiterated Brazil's position in support of the "principles of self-determination of peoples and full national sovereignty."

On the streets, the Brazilian people ratified their solidarity with the Cuban people and their Revolution.

When news of the aggression reached the Recife area, hundreds of farmers gathered in front of the U. S. Consulate shouting "cowardly Yankee imperialists!" and expressing their repudiation of the aggressors in many ways.

On April 17 the Labor Union Council of Niteroi and Sao Gonzalo, composed of 21 labor unions, strongly condemned the invasion of Cuba.

In Belo Horizonte, hundreds of university students marched through the city on the evening of the 17th shouting "Cuba si, Yankees no" and condemning the imperialist aggression against the Cuban people. At the same time posters were placed on the walls listing ten social advances achieved by the Cuban Revolution as well as the imperialist aggressions against Latin American countries: Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala—and now Cuba.

The Brazilian working class expressed its decisive support of the Cuban Revolution. The Labor Council of Sao Paulo, representing one million workers, asked the President of the Republic to instruct the Brazilian delegation to the U. N. to "denounce the imperialist aggression against Cuba". Meetings of workers approved the sending of messages of solidarity to the Cuban Embassy and messages of condemnation and protest to the U.S. Embassy.

On the evening of the 18th, thousands of persons gathered in front of the Capitol in Rio de Janeiro to protest the imperialist aggression against Cuba. There, Congressmen, Paulo Alberto, Hércules Correia, Josué de Castro, and Luis Carlos Prestes delivered speeches "against Yankee imperialism, aggressor of the Cuban people". From the capitol the demonstrators marched to the Cuban Embassy shouting "Cuba si, Yankees no" and held a rally expressing solidarity with Cuba. When the rally was over, thousands of participants gathered in front of the Sears Roebuck store, the Esso gas stations, and the house of Governor Carlos Lacerda, who had supported the imperialist invaders, to express their repudiation of the invasion.

Some five thousand persons marched past the American Consulate in Recife on April 18. The demonstration, led by Francisco Juliao, leader of the farmer's leagues, marched through the city's main streets shouting "Cuba si, Yankees

no". At a meeting held in front of the consulate the demonstrators condemned the U.S. Government for "its aggressive policies towards a country which is fighting for its freedom and independence."

That same evening in Sao Paulo, the police dissolved a student demonstration in support of Cuba which marched to the American Consulate.

For the third day in a row, on the 19th, thousands of people attended a meeting condemning the aggression. Scores of students and workers were arrested by the political police. They were charged with painting anti-imperialist slogans on walls near the U. S. Consulate.

A huge rally was held in front of the Cuban Embassy in Rio de Janeiro to protest the aggression and to express support of the Cuban people; it was called by labor, farmer, and student organizations. During the rally hundreds of signatures were obtained for a message of solidarity sent to Prime Minister Fidel Castro and President Osvaldo Dorticós.

In the same city, over two thousand workers and students, led by political and labor leaders and congressmen, marched through the city on the 21st in a demonstration of support for the Cuban Revolutionary Government and of condemnation for the U.S. for "organizing and financing the crushed invasion of Cuba."

Luis Carlos Prestes, Secretary General of the Communist Party, was among those who addressed the meeting. He condemned the aggression and stated that "the struggle of the Cuban people is invincible."

Seven students were arrested by the police in Sao Paulo when they handed out leaflets condemning the imperialist aggression against Cuba. The leaflets asked the people to go to recruiting booths located in different parts of the city to enlist as volunteers to defend the small Caribbean Republic. After being freed, the students declared that the police tried to get the lists of volunteers.

Governor Leonel Brizzola of Porto Alegre sent a message to President Quadros in which he expressed his "repudiation of the aggression against the Cuban People". Meanwhile thousands of persons gathered in front of the governmental palace.

The National Parliamentary Front, composed of over one hundred congressmen from different parties, sent a message to Ambassador Moors Cabot condemning "the savage aggression against the Cuban people". Other congressmen joined the general protest. Rolando Corbicier declared that "Brazil's borders are in Cuba and the Brazilian Revolution is also in danger." Congressman Sergio Magalhaes stated: "It is not only the fate of Cuba that is at stake, but that of all Latin America."

José Fregat, leader of the Brazilian Socialist Party, declared that the attack against Cuba was "an aggression against all free men in all countries that are liberating themselves from imperialism and colonialism". He called the working masses "to the streets to defend Cuba and its courageous people".

CHILE

The Chilean people arose en masse in defense of the Cuban Revolution, which was threatened by the criminal imperialist aggression. The streets of Santiago and other Chilean cities vibrated with the great demonstrations which took place in support of Cuba. There were violent clashes with the police, who repeatedly tried to use force to prevent the people from demonstrating freely.

On the night of the 17th two bombs exploded in front of the U. S.-owned Grace Company, as acts of condemnation against the United States continued. The bombs, which damaged the building, exploded after a demonstration in support of the Cuban Revolution, in which several thousand people participated.

The inhabitants of the city of San Fernando, located 150 kilometers from Santiago, took to the streets on the 18th to protest the invasion of Cuba. This was the largest protest in the history of that agricultural region. The city of San Fernando is the capital of Colchagua and has more than 50,000 inhabitants.

The principal activities of the country were paralyzed on the 19th because of the national strike decreed by the Confederation of Chilean Workers in support of the Cuban Revolution. The most important sectors of the Chilean people did not go to work. There was total obedience to

the strike call on the part of the university and high school students and teachers, the coal, saltpeter, and iron miners, the construction workers, the electrical, water supply and gas workers, the office workers in cities and towns, and, in general, workers in all areas of production.

Numerous groups of demonstrators ran through the streets of Santiago stoning the large American-owned "Paris" warehouses. The demonstrators also burned a U. S. flag to ashes while shouting "Cuba si, Yankees no".

The general strike in support of Cuba and in repudiation of the aggression was supported by the students. All universities and secondary schools in the country were affected. In the capital, clashes between students and workers, and the police took place. Forces of grenadiers tried to isolate the center of the city, toward which the demonstration was directed, deploying most of the forces around the unpopular reactionary newspaper "El Mercurio". A group of workers and students raised the Cuban flag in front of the premises of the Chilean student federation.

By late afternoon nine demonstrators had been arrested by the two thousand policemen who were guarding the center of the city, reinforced by armored cars and fire engines. Five persons, among them two policemen, were wounded in different clashes. Eighteen thousand coal miners from the provinces of Concepción and Arauco joined the 24 hour nation-wide work stoppage that took place on the 19th, as an expression of solidarity with Cuba and as a protest against the attack perpetrated against that country. The workers from the "La Africana" copper mine, located near the capital, joined the work stoppage in support of the Cuban people.

During a meeting held by mine workers 500 kilometers south of the capital, more than 500 miners registered as volunteers to defend the Cuban Revolution with weapons.

A mass rally was held in the city of Concepción, reaching proportions such as had seldom been seen before. The demonstrators marched through the main streets, burning, stepping on and spitting on grotesque straw dummies representing President Kennedy.

The peasants from the Choapa valley, in the northern region of Illapel, declared a 24-hour strike in support of the Cuban Revolution.

One hundred and fifty peasants from two ranches belonging to the National Health Service in the region of the city of Salamanca, in the northern part of the country, remained on strike for three days in support of the Cuban Revolution. Other peasants from ranches located in the area around the city of Covalle declared a 24-hour strike on the 20th.

In Valparaiso five thousand students declared a 24-hour strike on the 20th.

At a joint meeting of the Popular Action Front, the Confederation of Chilean Workers and its 35 Federations, the Federation of Chilean Students, the Teacher's College, and the Chilean Peace Committee, it was agreed to send a message to the United Nations asking for that international organization to intervene against the Yankee aggression. At the same meeting registration was opened for volunteers to go to Cuba to fight against the invaders.

Salvador Allende, Senator and President of the Popular Action Front (FRAP), declared: "We denounce the cowardly aggression that has been in preparation for some time with the open support of the United States." He echoed the call "to stop the genocide against a little country". "Cuba", Allende declared, "is a symbol of the fight of our peoples throughout our entire history, and it is the example of a country which, from the dawn of its pseudo-political independence, strongly felt the economic avarice of foreign imperialism". Since the crushing of the invasion, Allende has declared: "The case of Cuba is not the same as Guatemala, and the aggressors have had to admit their total defeat in the face of the Cuban people's response. We continue firmly in the fight, and on a war footing we will strike at imperialism in all the countries of Latin America".

The political commission of the Chilean Communist Party made a categorical repudiation of the aggression against Cuba, terming it, "an aggression against all the peoples of Latin America". The commission urged all organizations to hold meetings and marches, mass rallies, and other forms of popular mobilization.

The Chilean Socialist Party condemned the aggression and called all the workers of the country to take to the streets to demonstrate their support of the Cuban Revolution. The Christian Democratic Party of Chile issued a declaration asking the governments of America and the United Nations to put an end to the fight that is shedding Cuban blood and can hurl Latin America and the world into a tragic situation."

The Chilean-Cuban Institute declared its repudiation of the aggression. More than 200 writers and artists, headed by the great poet, Pablo Neruda, signed a declaration demanding: "Keep your filthy hands off Cuba".

Upon learning of the victory of the Cuban people over the invaders, over 20,000 people congregated in front of the Cuban Embassy. In the Balmaceda Garden, in front of the embassy and after having marched through the main streets of the capital, the demonstrators burned a United States flag and a dummy representing President Kennedy.

Luis Corvalán, Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party, commenting on the huge meeting in support of Cuba held on the 19th, the day of the crushing defeat of the mercenary forces that invaded Cuba, stated that "Chilean people have received, with great joy, the news of the defeat of the invaders". He added that this is "a great triumph for the Cuban people, the people of Latin America, and international solidarity".

Expressing its point of view on the triumph of the Cuban people over the invaders, the Chilean Communist Party proclaimed that "the failure of the invasion of Cuba is the most shameful defeat that United States imperialism has suffered in Latin America".

ARGENTINE

In spite of the repression unleashed by the Argentinian Government, the people did not vacillate in their demonstrations in support of the Cuban Revolution.

An anti-United States demonstration was held when the first bombing of Cuba took place; on the 16th of April an office of the United States Embassy and a branch of a United States Bank in Buenos Aires were stoned. The police announced the arrest of one person who had partici-

pated in the attack on the office of the United States Information Service. Demonstrators, shouting "down with the United States" and "long live Castro", threw stones and grease bombs at the branch of the National City Bank of New York located in the Flores district.

In Rosario, second-largest city in the country, located 370 kilometers from the capital, students and workers held several demonstrations against the United States on the 18th. The demonstrators threw grease bombs at the Rosario Association of Argentinian American Cultural Exchange and at the administrative offices of the U. S.-owned John Deere Company.

On the 18th, groups of demonstrators threw two "molotov cocktails" at the National City Bank in the city of Córdoba, causing damage and starting a fire. The demonstrators, who carried signs supporting the Cuban Revolution, were dispersed by the police with tear-gas bombs. They also threw leaflets into the air which read "Yankees, stay out of Cuba".

With shouts of "the time has come to answer violence with violence" and chants of "Yankees go back, you won't get Cuba!" the university students of Buenos Aires, in a number of demonstrations in the main streets of the capital, made speeches and asked for the solidarity of the Argentinian people with the Cuban Revolution.

Numerous demonstrations had their origin in the assembly hall of the School of Philosophy and Arts of the State University and culminated in violent police intervention. Many people were wounded or arrested, as the police threw the tear-gas bombs directly at the demonstrators.

The hostile attitude of the police could not contain the impetus of the students, who continued demonstrating in the main streets of the capital until they were halted again by members of the police force at the intersection of Reconquista and Tucuman streets.

Groups of demonstrators broke the windows of the newspaper "Correo de la Tarde", known for its attacks on the Cuban Revolution, and overturned a street-car, again being cut off by the police.

The sending of the first brigade of Argentinian volunteers to Cuba to defend the Cuban Revolution was announced by the National Committee of Youth Organization (CONOJ) on the 20th. That first brigade was made up of young people belonging to the Socialist Youth, the Progressive Democratic Youth, the Social Progressive Movement, the Federation of Young Communists, the University Federation, Confederation of Secondary Students, and workers in different unions.

On the 20th of April, dozens of persons were arrested by the police for demonstrating against the imperialist attack on Cuba in rallies held in Buenos Aires, in the city of Rosario, and in Mendoza, capital of the province of the same name. Even though the authorities would give no information in regard to this, it is known that some of the demonstrators received medical attention because of blows and wounds received during the violent repression of the demonstrations.

At that time, chorusing the well-known revolutionary slogan: "Fidel, Fidel, what is it that Fidel has, that the yankees cannot overpower him", thousands of university and secondary-school students marched through the streets of Buenos Aires on the 21st, in an expression of solidarity with the Cuban people and their fight against the imperialist invasion.

The demonstrators carried Cuban flags and signs with Cuban and anti-imperialist slogans. Later they met in a hall in the School of Economy where different orators spoke. During the rally a fight with rightist elements calling themselves "nationalists" took place. During this riot, although the police were standing by with their assault car at a street corner next to the School of Economy, they did not step in.

On the 21st of April a demonstration and rally in support of Cuba was held in the northern province of Tucuman, where the main sugar cane plantations of the country are located. The demonstrators marched to the local newspaper "La Gaceta" and burned an American flag

in front of it. Later on they stoned the site of the Association for Argentine American Cultural Exchange.

On the 20th the Federation of Secondary School students of Buenos Aires called a 24-hour strike in support of the Cuban Revolution.

An eighteen year old student was hurt on the 21st when a demonstration in solidarity with the Cuban people was violently repressed by the police in the city of Resistencia, province of Corrientes. During the demonstration which had not been properly authorized, there were many shouts of support for the leaders of the Revolution and the struggle of the Cuban people for their independence.

On the 21st, seventy five persons were arrested in Buenos Aires during demonstrations of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. Most of the demonstrations, unauthorized by the police, were held in front of Parliament. The demonstrators demanded that the Argentinian Government condemn the mercenary invasion of Cuba.

Before the beginning of the demonstrations, a large number of police, storm troops, armored assault cars, mounted police, and infantry guards, made an announcement at the site of the demonstrations, warning over the loud speakers that the demonstrations would be prevented "by all means". Disregarding the warnings, hundreds of persons carrying Cuban flags and throwing flyers that said —among other things— "Cuba has been invaded", "Pain and courage shake American land", and "Cuba and Argentine: two peoples and one enemy—imperialism", went into the streets expressing their solidarity with Cuba and their revulsion for the mercenary invasion. Immediately, the repressive forces charged the demonstrators, firing tear gas bombs and shooting into the air, proceeding to make arrests after three hours of continued fighting. Those arrested, after being beaten severely by the repressive forces, remained at the "disposal of the executive power" in spite of the fact that the Court ordered their release.

In the city of La Plata, 14 were wounded and 12 arrested as a result of clashes between the police and demonstrators who, during the night of the 21st, marched through the streets of the city in solidarity with Cuba.

URUGUAY

In Uruguay, as in the other Latin American countries, the workers, students, farmers, and progressive intellectuals expressed their support of the Cuban Revolution and their vigorous repudiation of the imperialist aggression in many different ways.

A caravan of automobiles and trucks drove through the main streets of Montevideo on the 16th of April, bearing Cuban flags and signs supporting Cuba.

The caravan which congested and interrupted all the traffic, and bore the slogans "with Cuba", "against the Yankee aggression", "Cuba is not alone", and "Cuba will win", in condemnation of the air attack perpetrated against Cuban Territory the day before by United States B-26's.

On the 17th several persons were wounded, some seriously, in Montevideo, when the police fired tear gas bombs and used sabers against people holding a protest demonstration against the invasion of Cuba. The clash took place when over three thousand persons tried to march in front of the Municipal Palace, where the President of Italy, Giovanni Gronchi, who was visiting the country, was being entertained, the demonstrators marched through many avenues of the capital shouting slogans in favor of the Cuban Revolution.

On the 18th, the Uruguayan people's wave of indignation and protest over the invasion of Cuba focused on the building of the reactionary and unpopular newspaper "El Dia". A crowd that marched through the streets threw stones and bombs at the newspaper building, damaging it. The police immediately intervened, but the demonstrators did not disperse. During the march the demonstrators burned a large number of United States flags. They also exhibited a large effigy of Uncle Sam, hanged, with a caption across its chest reading "Fidel liquidated me". The march lasted about half an hour; the demonstration occupied both sides of 18th of July Avenue and neighboring streets.

On the 19th, a student demonstration, which was violently dispersed by the police, stoned the building of the

newspaper "El País" for the second time —this newspaper is tied to United States and Uruguayan landholding interests.

A conference of student and popular organizations was held in the university hall; 137 delegates from all over the country attended in order to "consider new methods of support for the Cuban people".

The Maritime Transportation Union declared a general work stoppage in support of the Cuban Revolution on the 23rd, and made a request that the Confederation of Uruguayan Workers do the same in order for the strike to be made effective by the entire Uruguayan working class.

The Maritime Workers Union also resolved to form a commission dedicated to recruiting volunteers willing to defend the Cuban Revolution on the battlefield itself.

The Confederation of Uruguayan Workers (CUTU), with more than 250,000 affiliated workers, declared in a vibrant manifest:

"We are willing to put into effect the agreement reached with the glorious Cuban Revolution" —which consisted of a general strike in support of Cuba. The CUTU recommended that "the working class, progressive sectors, and the people in general adopt all measures within their reach to demonstrate the solidarity they owe to the Cuban Revolution..." "The workers will fulfill the task of solidarity with honor".

The Uruguayan Communist Party issued a declaration denouncing the United States aggression "directed by the Pentagon against Cuba" and urging all the workers and the people of Uruguay to mobilize in defense of the Cuban Revolution. After pointing out that the invasion of Cuba "could put the world on the brink of war", the declaration asked the Uruguayan people to protest and demand that the government repudiate the aggression. Other political organizations issued appeals of the same type, expressing their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

On the 21st, more than forty thousand people marched through the main streets of Montevideo, celebrating the victory of the Cuban people over the mercenary invaders and chorusing chants of adherence to the Cuban Revolutionary Government.

As the multitude marched in front of the building of the newspaper "El Día", the shouts against the publication and against the imperialist aggressors who were defeated at Playa Girón were deafening.

BOLIVIA

The Bolivian Government condemned the aggression against Cuba and the attitude of the countries used as a base for the mercenaries serving Yankee imperialism. At the same time, it reiterated its support of the principle of non-intervention.

The solidarity of the Bolivian people with the Cuban Revolution and their profound indignation at the imperialist aggression was shown by the many demonstrations that took place throughout the country.

On the 18th of April over 10 thousand workers in La Paz held an impressive demonstration which set out from the Venezuela Plaza. During the march, organized by the Confederation of Bolivian Workers, two American flags were burned and there was constant shouting of slogans in support of the Cuban Revolution. The demonstrators stoned the offices of the newspaper "Presencia", mouth-piece of the reactionaries, breaking almost all the windows.

In various clashes with the police, such as the one that occurred in front of the U. S. Embassy, 8 persons were wounded seriously and 30 suffered slight injuries.

The leader of the Confederation of Workers, Stanley Gamberos, announced on the 17th of April that 300 bolivians had already signed up as volunteers to go to Cuba and defend the Revolution.

In Cochabamba and other cities in the interior, students and workers took to the streets on several occasions to protest against the imperialist attack on the Cuban people.

In the town of Huanuni, province of Oruro, a National Miners' Congress was held which called the invasion "the vilest aggression of U. S. imperialism". It denounced the fact that "the United States is putting pressure on the Latin American countries to break relations with Cuba".

Bolivian senators and deputies asked for continental support for Cuba, in her struggle against the invasion and urged the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) to call on the popular parties and democratic organizations in Latin America for a vote of solidarity with the government and people of Cuba.

Leaders of the Communist Party, writers, ex-congressmen, labor leaders, and leaders of popular organizations called on the Bolivian people to mobilize against the imperialist aggression.

COLOMBIA

Throughout the country, the Colombian regime viciously repressed street rallies and demonstrations protesting the aggression against Cuba.

Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, Cartagena, and other cities were scenes of pitched battles between the people and the thugs who tried to halt the demonstrations condemning imperialism staining the streets with the heroic blood of many of the demonstrators who expressed their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

Nine persons were injured, two of them with bullet-wounds, as a result of the police repression on the 17th of April against the first demonstration of students and workers in Bogotá, who were protesting the invasion of Cuba. Another seven demonstrators received blows and contusions that day, as the army took over control of the capital.

Using tanks, and armed with machine guns, army detachments established a siege of the University City of Bogotá on the following day. By closing the doors hastily, the students resisted the attempt to penetrate the university made by a truck full of soldiers. The University City was surrounded by military troops, while the students inside conducted diverse demonstrations of adherence to the Cuban Revolution.

On the following day police bullets caused a total of one dead and seven wounded in Bogotá, when thousands of workers and students stoned the United States Embassy during one of the protest demonstrations against the inva-

sion of Cuba. The demonstrators also stoned the building of the newspaper "El Tiempo", noted for its attacks on the Cuban Revolution. The police tried to disperse the demonstrators—who were chanting "Cuba si, Yankees no", and "Imperialist hands off Cuba"—by firing against the workers and students, resulting in the above mentioned number of victims. The demonstration was fired upon when it headed toward Bolívar Plaza, after stoning the Colombian-American Center, and smashing the windows. Several students with bullet-wounds, were admitted to the Hortua Hospital.

In the course of the day four popular demonstrations of persons with a band in front, singing "The 26th of July" by various revolutionary organizations, such as the Liberal Revolutionary Movement, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the 7th of January Movement and the People's Gaitanist Movement.

Faced with these huge demonstrations of solidarity with Cuba, the Colombian Army occupied the public buildings, airport, and commercial areas, closing off traffic.

Although armored cars, radio control cars and trucks, filled with troops, constantly patrolled the main avenues, demonstrations in favor of the Cuban Revolution continued.

In Barranquilla, the people repudiated the mercenaries who had landed in Cuba, marching a crowd of thousands persons with a band in front, singing "The 26th of July March", and carrying a gigantic portrait of Fidel Castro.

Seven student members of the youth commandos of the Liberal Revolutionary Movement (MRL) of the State of Valle, were arrested in Cali, when they distributed propaganda in favor of Cuba, denouncing the imperialist aggressions. The police confiscated pamphlets, handbills, and identification cards from the members of the MRL.

In Medellín, some ten thousand people marched through the streets shouting "Cuba si, Yankees no", and clashed with the police who were guarding the United States Consulate. Several persons were wounded.

In Bucaramanga eight persons were wounded when the police clashed with a student demonstration in support of Cuba.

In the city of Monteria, capital of the State of Córdoba, a pitched battle was fought when a group of reactionary elements tried to stop a meeting in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Other protest demonstrations took place in Barranquilla and Cartagena, where thousands of persons marched through the streets, and in Popayán, where the students of the University of Cauca held numerous demonstrations in support of Cuba.

Hundreds of young people enlisted in Colombia as volunteers to fight in defense of Cuba. The walls of many residences were painted with signs condemning the invasion of Cuba.

On the 19th. thousands of persons poured into the main streets of Bogotá shouting "Cuba si, Yankees no" and other mottos in support of Cuba. An enormous rally of over 30,000 people took place in the Bolívar Plaza, in front of the national capitol in the afternoon, which was addressed by speakers from different political parties, the rally energetically condemned the imperialist attack perpetrated against the Revolution and the Cuban people, swearing in masse to defend the Cuban Revolution with their lives if necessary.

Police and army units surrounded the Bolívar Plaza in an uncalled for demonstration of military might. At the end of the mass rally, the crowd dispersed through the main streets of the capital, shouting revolutionary slogans: "Fidel, not one step back", "Long live Cuba", "We will win", etc.

At nine thirty in the evening thousands of people took to the streets, shouting against the United States and cheering the Cuban Revolution.

VENEZUELA

The popular demonstrations in Venezuela could not be halted by the savage repression unleashed by the pro-imperialist government of Rómulo Betancourt. In spite of the fact that dozens of demonstrators were killed or wounded by henchmen of the regime, the Venezuelan

people remained firm in defense of the Cuban Revolution and the rights of sovereignty of all peoples.

When news on the bombardment of Cuban cities which preceded the invasion reached Venezuela, the students held a large demonstration in the university repudiating the criminal attack launched by Yankee airplanes.

On the 17th of April, a large popular demonstration in the center of Caracas was violently repressed by the police who used tear-gas bombs. During the march, the demonstrators chanted "Cuba si, Yankees no", "Yankees, Hands off Cuba", and "Down with Yankee imperialism" in a strong condemnation of the invasion of Cuba.

On the 18th, a large demonstration in support of the Cuban Revolution, organized by workers and students in Caracas was violently dispersed by the Betancourt police, resulting in the death of a 16-year-old boy, twenty persons wounded, and some one hundred persons arrested.

Numerous groups of students, joined by representatives of unions and other sectors of the people, gathered at the university in the late afternoon, beginning a long march to the center of the city, ending at the Plaza del Silencio in a violent clash with the repressive forces.

The funeral of Edgardo González Márquez, the boy killed by the police ruffians, turned into a rally of affirmation of the solidarity of the Venezuelan people with the people of Cuba.

On the 19th, two persons were killed and nine wounded in the city of Maracaibo, State of Zulia, as a result of clashes with the police during a popular demonstration of support for Cuba and repudiation of the United States.

In Caracas meanwhile, there were many demonstrations in different parts of the city. In reply to the repression, the demonstrators attacked American-owned buildings, burning a branch of the Sears, Roebuck and Company; a group of young people attacked the main offices of Pan American World Airways.

In the Chamber of Deputies of Venezuela, an alliance of the progressive sectors, approved a resolution which stated "Cuba has the right to take her political and economic

destiny into her own hands without foreign interference of any type and with no other judge than her own sovereign people".

"The Venezuelan people are with Cuba", declared José Herrera Oropeza, of the Union Democratic and Republican Party (URD), while César Fortul of the Left Republican Movement (MIR) stated during a rally in support of Cuba: "we repudiate the criminal attack, and will defend the Cuban Revolution". The Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) reiterated its call for all the Venezuelan people to mobilize in support of, and solidarity with, the Cuban people.

At the beginning of the violent repression against the demonstrators, the Betancourt regime decreed the suspension of constitutional guarantees. In the meantime the Ministry of Education had to suspend classes indefinitely in the metropolitan area.

In the interior of the country demonstrations in support of Cuba were held in Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, and San Cristóbal.

PERU

In the midst of a wave of repression unleashed by the régime of Manuel Prado, the Peruvian people also demonstrated their support of, and solidarity with, the people of Cuba, energetically condemning the shameless and cynical intervention of Yankee imperialism.

Upon receiving the news of the invasion of Cuba, large popular demonstrations took place in various cities, particularly in Lima, Cuzco, Trujillo and Arequipa, including meetings in the University of San Marcos and the National University of Engineering. In the latter, Peruvian congressmen and intellectuals spoke, stating that "the United States has violated the principle of non-intervention and the sovereignty of the Cuban people."

Five persons were wounded and many arrested in clashes between the police and student demonstrators who took to the streets of Lima on the 19th in protest against the attack on Cuba. Despite the violent attacks by police, both on foot and mounted, the demonstration continued for several hours to shouts of "Cuba sí, Yankees no".

Students and workers clashed with the police force for the third time on the 22nd, in a demonstration setting out from the University of San Marcos with the purpose of "showing their joy over the defeat of the mercenaries who invaded Cuba at the service of imperialism".

After the demonstration those who had attended set out from the University Park on parade through the streets of the city, but they were driven back by the police, who charged them and used tear gas bombs against them.

The repressive bodies of the regime made mass arrests, searched homes, and confiscated numerous publications and editions of newspapers.

ECUADOR

Throughout the country the Ecuadorian people held rallies to repudiate the imperialist aggression and to show fraternal solidarity with the Cuban people.

The President of the Republic at that time, José María Velasco Ibarra, stated that "the mercenary invaders who attacked Cuba and their instigators have trampled on all the principles of international law and all the standards of Pan-American and World Judicial Life".

Thousands of Ecuadorians condemned the imperialist aggression against Cuba in a meeting at Independence Square in Quito.

A bomb exploded at the U.S. Embassy in that capital, causing considerable damage, but no victims.

The university students gathered in the School of Philosophy and Letters of Central University, setting out en masse for Independence Square, where they burned an American flag, armed contingents prevented the demonstration from reaching the reactionary and unpopular newspaper "El Comercio", although some stones struck office windows and broke them.

In the same way heavily armed military forces prevented the demonstrators from reaching the Yankee Embassy.

A statement issued by leaders of 30 Indian communities in Chimborazo stated that "the enemies of our country, aided, sponsored, supplied and armed by the traffickers in

hunger, war and misery —the Yankee imperialists— believed they could defeat the Cuban Revolution, but nothing and no one will be able to destroy the Revolution, because they would first have to destroy the entire island."

The document bore the fingerprints of several leaders, and the signatures of the rest.

The major political, labor, and student organizations in Guayaquil held a large demonstration which they called the "Victory March" in celebration of the triumph of the Cuban people. The demonstration was headed by a coffin drawn by a burro, symbolizing U.S. policy, and set out from Centenario Park in the direction of the Guayas River, where the coffin containing "the mortal remains of the imperialist mercenaries" was dumped.

Thousands of Ecuadorians signed up as volunteers recruiting in offices that were opened in various provinces of the country.

The President of the Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorian Youth, Jorge Rivadeneira, sent a message to Prime Minister Fidel Castro, informing him that "10 thousand members of the union are ready to fight in defense of the Cuban Revolution". He added that "in case the infamous aggression continues, we have sworn to liquidate the U.S. interests in Ecuador".

In Guayaquil, a large demonstration which packed the main avenues of the city, carrying banners supporting the Cuban Revolution, set fire to a jeep belonging to the U.S. Embassy.

Numerous organizations made public their protest against the aggression and sent messages of solidarity to the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, among which were the National Labor Federation, the Federation of University Students, the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorian Youth, the Popular Liberal Movement, the Friends of Cuba Association and many others.

Ex Minister Manuel Araujo Hidalgo stated that the recently created Ecuadorian militia, made up of young workers, farmers and students, would be at the service of the Cuban Revolution.

GUATEMALA

In spite of the terror unleashed in Guatemala by the government of puppet Ydígoras Fuentes, accomplice of imperialism in the aggression against Cuba who granted Guatemalan territory as a base for the aggression, the people held numerous demonstrations supporting the Cuban Revolution.

On April 18, thousands of people gathered in the Central Plaza opposite the National Palace, to protest the aggression against Cuba. The demonstration, called by the Association of University Students of the School of Economy, chanted the motto, "Cuba si, Yankees no" and called for "the firing squad for Ydígoras and Kennedy".

After the meeting, groups of demonstrators ran through the downtown area of the city attacking the United Fruit and Pan American World Airways buildings and breaking the windows. Five persons were arrested.

When the demonstrators were nearing the U.S. Embassy, the heavy guard protecting it used tear gas bombs against them.

On the afternoon of the 18th, a good number of demonstrators marched past the statue of the Cuban national hero, José Martí, in the capital.

Throughout the afternoon of the 18th, the downtown area of Guatemala City, particularly around Central Park, was the scene of tumultuous student and worker demonstrations that condemned the aggression against Cuba and cheered the Cuban Revolution. "Fidel will win", "Cuba will not be another Guatemala", "Ydígoras has sold our country to the Yankees", and the classic "Cuba si, Yankees no" were the most frequently heard slogans.

In the course of the demonstrations, students and workers symbolically burned imperialism, throwing a picture of President Kennedy into the fire. When the mass rally in Central Park grew to more than a thousand people, the Ydígoras police burt in upon the demonstrators, firing their weapons against the people, murdering four persons and wounding twenty six others. The four who fell in the people's action in support of the Cuban Revolution were a student named Jorge Gutiérrez, a citizen of Honduras Guar-

dado Lara, as well as a worker and another student. On the 20th, the Association of University Students called a strike in protest against the brutal police repression of the demonstration that had taken place the day before.

A manifesto condemning the United States for the armed aggression against Cuba, signed by hundreds of leading Guatemalan figures, was published in an edition of the newspaper "Prensa Libre". The manifesto, directed to the people of Guatemala, was signed by ex-Foreign Ministers Guillermo Torriello and Manuel Galich; writers, Miguel Angel Asturias and Luis Cardoza; Congressmen Julio Valladares Castillo and Otto Palma Figueroa; as well as union leaders, professors, university students, newspaper and representatives of other sectors of the nation. The document stated "our repudiation of the Government of Guatemala which, as we have been saying, has permitted the establishment of bases that served as training centers for the mercenary contingent that attacked our sister Republic of Cuba in the most underhanded way".

The Unity Revolutionary Party of Guatemala stated "the most absolute repudiation of the armed intervention against the sister republic that the Government of the United States has unleashed". The Guatemalan Labor Party, formulated strongly-worded declarations condemning the imperialist aggression and the puppet regime of Ydígoras Fuentes, and called on all Guatemalans to mobilize in defense of Cuba.

COSTA RICA

The Costa Rican people energetically condemned the aggression against Cuba and expressed their solidarity with the Cuban Revolution.

On the 19th of April, in a general assembly held in San José that culminated in a parade of more than a thousand people in front of the Cuban Embassy, a message was read in "support of the Cuban people in the fight to throw out the invaders of their territory and the fight against Yankee imperialism".

A column of young volunteers to fight in defense of Cuba began organizing in San José on the 19th; 250 young

men from 16 to 25 years of age asked to be sent to Cuba immediately.

In San José, on the 21st, special police, trained in the Panama Canal Zone, brutally assaulted a demonstration that cheered the Cuban Revolution and condemned the imperialist aggression. The police clubbed men, women and youngsters indiscriminately causing great indignation throughout the entire city. Among the wounded were writer Carlos Luis Fallas, economist Eduardo Mora Valverde, and several leaders of the Socialist Party and the Agrarian Party, all of whom were arrested. The repressive forces also arrested the Secretary-General of the General Confederation of Costa Rican Workers (CGTC), Gonzalo Sierra; the prisoners spent the night singing the 26th of July March and cheering Cuba.

The Social Studies Center ratified its support of the Cuban Revolution during a meeting addressed by Manuel Mora Valverde, Secretary-General of the People's Vanguard Party.

The Federation of Workers of the Province of San José signed a declaration in which it affirmed that "imperialism will be defeated and all forces of progress and liberty will triumph in all latitudes".

PANAMA

Thousands of Panamanians took to the streets in a demonstration of solidarity with the Cuban people and their Revolution. On the 18th, thousands of Panamanians tried to cross the barbed-wire fence surrounding the Canal Zone, crying "Long live Cuba", and "Down with Yankee imperialism", they were violently repulsed by United States troops and detachments of the National Guard of Panamá.

The demonstrators planned to lower the United States flag: "It ought not to wave in Panamá because America is in mourning due to the Yankee aggression against Cuba."

On the evening of April 19, after an intense fight, an enormous demonstration was broken-up by the police. The demonstrators had marched from the Santa Ana Plaza in the direction of the Canal Zone, condemning the imperialist aggression against Cuba.

As a consequence of the clash between the Panamanian people and the repressive forces of the government —which

used firearms and tear-gas bombs, more than fifteen persons were wounded. A large number of persons received minor cuts and bruises. The demonstrators carried posters with revolutionary slogans and the Panamanian flag, which, according to the plans, was going to be hoisted in the territory of the Zone occupied by the United States Army.

Many well-known figures, arrested by the National Guard because of the popular demonstrations, declared a hunger strike in the "Modelo Jail" because of the taunts and abuse received from the authorities.

In Panamá City on the 20th, various meetings and demonstrations were held, resulting in the arrest of a number of leaders. Similar rallies took place in the interior of the country.

The government alerted the National Guard and maintained a strong police vigilance in front of the Embassy and Consulates of the United States.

Days later, as a result of a new and powerful demonstration of support of Cuba held in the streets of the capital, the Chamber of Commerce tried to place responsibility on two councilmen for the breaking of windows of various businesses, which had happened when the demonstrators were attacked by the National Guard.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The solidarity of the peoples with the Cuban Revolution and the unanimous condemnation of the imperialist aggression were powerfully demonstrated on all continents.

In the United States itself—in the very "entrails of the monster", as José Martí said—large crowds picketed for several days before the headquarters of the United Nations in the city of New York and in front of the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington to protest the invasion. In Canada, progressive men and women expressed their indignation in numerous demonstrations and protest rallies held in various cities.

The European people too showed their repudiation of the imperialist aggression and their solidarity with Cuba. In London different rallies and picketing in front of the

United States Embassy took place, as well as a huge demonstration that ended in a meeting in Hyde Park.

In France huge meetings and demonstrations took place. On the 19th of April, at a large demonstration, over six thousand persons, by raising their hands, endorsed a message of solidarity of the people of Paris to be sent to the people of Cuba. Upon the triumph over the invaders, an imposing demonstration marched through the streets of Paris to show their joy over the victory.

The Italian people held many protest rallies in several cities. While in Rome and Milan violent clashes between demonstrators and police occurred, in Naples, Florence, Forli, Peruggia, Bari, Caserta, Chietti, Siena, and other Italian cities large rallies of solidarity with Cuba were held in the streets.

In Copenhagen, Bonn, Vienna, Brussels, Stockholm, Helsinki, Athens and Beirut, Yankee Embassies and Consulates reinforced their guard with local police in the face of continuous demonstrations of protest by the people, who marched imposingly through streets and avenues.

In the United Arab Republic, demonstrations and mass rallies were held in different cities. During a gigantic rally in Cairo, thousands of persons approved a resolution to support the fight of the Cuban people while in Sinai, thousands of demonstrators held a huge meeting.

More than eight thousand persons in Damascus, Syria, marched through the main streets of the city, chanting slogans of repudiation against imperialism and in support of Cuba.

In Sidney, Australia, on the opposite side of the world, more than a thousand people made up an imposing demonstration that marched along different avenues, clashing violently with the police, later, a militant meeting was held in front of the United States Embassy, expressing repudiation of the aggressions against Cuba.

Around seven thousand Japanese fought with the police in Tokyo, in front of the United States Embassy, while in New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, thousands of Hindu workers, organized by the Pan-Hindu Congress of Unions, marched for several hours in front of the United States Consulate carrying signs reading "Hands off Cuba".

THE PEOPLES AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP ON THE SIDE OF CUBA

Great inconvenience was in store for the plans of President Kennedy, the CIA, and the Pentagon. In Moscow and other Soviet cities, in Peking, Pyongyang, Prague, Warsaw, Berlin and in all other capitals and cities of the Socialist Countries, the people went into the streets and gathered in huge meetings to express their solidarity with Cuba and to offer their fraternal support to the Cuban people in their fight to crush the aggression.

The peoples energetically warned the imperialists that they must halt their acts of interference and aggression against the Cuban Revolution. And together with the peoples, the governments of the Socialist Camp, and particularly the Government of the Soviet Union, clearly defined their position on the side of Cuba and made known to the imperialists their determination to give unlimited help to the Cuban people in repulsing the aggression.

On the 18th of April, 1961, the Soviet News Agency TASS published the news that the Soviet Union and its allies were ready to help the Cubans in their fight against the imperialist aggressors. "The Union of Soviets Socialist Republics and other socialist nations, that is, all peace loving nations which are their most decided friends", said TASS, "are ready to give the Cuban people their help and support."

The agency called on the United Nations to "stop the aggression immediately" and affirmed that "the gamblers of the imperialist camp ought to remember that Cuba is not alone. Cuba has many friends and not only in the Eastern Hemisphere", it added. "It has all of progressive humanity on its side. The movement of solidarity with the Cuban people will surely reach its fullest international scope. World public opinion is irritated by the shameful aggression

against Cuba and is ready to go to the help of the Cuban people. Dont' touch Cuba —that is the demand of all honorable people”.

The Government of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev sent serious warnings to the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, making their position on the side of Cuba clear and demanding the immediate cessation of the aggression. These messages brought a cynical reply from President Kennedy, who tried to justify the attack on Cuba and at the same time denied all United States participation. Kennedy's reply merited a new letter from Prime Minister Khrushchev, who unmasked the cynicism of the imperialists and confirmed the position of the Soviet people in support of the people of Cuba.

Excerpts from these messages appear on the following pages.

**FROM THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF
THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

“...The attack on Cuba is an open challenge to all freedom-loving peoples, a dangerous provocation against peace in the area of the Caribbean Sea, against universal peace. There can be no justification for this criminal invasion. The organizers of the aggression against Cuba are encroaching on the inalienable right of the Cuban people to live freely and independently. They are trampling the elementary norms of international relations, the principles of peaceful coexistence of states.

The Cuban nation has not threatened and is not threatening anyone. Having overthrown the tyranny of the bloody despot Batista, lackey of the big U.S. monopolies, the Cuban nation is pursuing an independent policy of raising its economy, and improving its life. It demands to be left in peace, to be permitted to build its life according to its national ideals.

Can small Cuba with its population of 6 million threaten anyone —and such a big country as the United States at that? Of course not. Yet since the first days of the victory of the national revolution in Cuba the United States was the place where the counterrevolutionary elements, thrown out of Cuba, gathered, where they organized gangs and armed themselves to fight against the popular government of Fidel Castro. Recent events show that the present U. S. Government, which declared itself heir to Roosevelt's policy, is pursuing the reactionary imperialist policy of Dulles and Eisenhower so condemned by the nations.

The U.S. Government declared through President Kennedy that the basic controversial question on Cuba is not

a matter of a quarrel between the United States and Cuba but concerns the Cubans alone. The President said that he advocated "a free and independent" Cuba. In fact, however, everything was done on the territory of the United States and the countries dependent on it to prepare an aggressive attack on Cuba. But if it had not been for the open aggressive policy of the United States towards Cuba, how else would the counterrevolutionary gangs of the hirelings of U.S. capital have been able to create the so-called "Cuban government" on U.S. territory? What territory served as a starting point for the piratical attack on Cuba?

It was the territory of the United States and that of the neighboring countries which are under its control. Whose were the arms with which the counterrevolutionary gangs were equipped? They are U.S. arms. With whose funds have they been supported and are they being maintained? With funds appropriated by the United States.

It is clear from this that it is precisely the United States which is the inspirer and organizer of the present bandit-like attack on Cuba. Why did the United States organize this criminal attack on the Cuban Republic? Because, after the overthrow of the tyranny of Batista, the Cuban people put an end to the plunder and exploitation of their homeland by foreign monopolies. These monopolies do not wish to concede anything to the people of Cuba, the peoples of Latin America. They fear that Cuba, building its independent life, will become an example for other countries of Latin America. Cowardly mercenary hands want to strip the Cuban people of their right to determine their own fate, as they did with Guatemala.

But every nation has the right to live as it wishes, and no one, no state has the right to impose its own way of life on other nations. The Cuban nation has passed through a long, harsh, and difficult school of struggle for its freedom and independence against foreign oppressors and their accomplices, and it will not be brought to its knees, nor will it permit the yoke of foreign enslavers to be placed upon its shoulders. All progressive mankind, all upright people are on the side of Cuba.

The Government of the Soviet Union states that the Soviet Union, same as other peace-loving countries, will not

abandon the Cuban people in their trouble nor will it refuse Cuba all the necessary aid and support in its just struggle for freedom and independence.

The Soviet Government, at this crucial moment, for the sake of preserving universal peace, appeals to the Government of the United States to take the necessary measures to stop the aggressions against Cuba and intervention in Cuba's internal affairs. Protection and aid given to the counterrevolutionary bands must be stopped immediately.

The Soviet Government hopes that it will be understood in the United States that aggression goes against the interests of the American people and is capable of jeopardizing the peaceful life of the population of the United States itself.

The Soviet Government demands that the U. N. General Assembly study the aggressive actions of the United States, which has prepared and carried out armed intervention against Cuba.

The Government of the U.S.S.R. appeals to the governments of all member states of the United Nations to do everything possible to immediately cease the aggressive actions against Cuba. To continue this may give rise to the most serious consequences for universal peace.

In this hour, when the sovereignty and independence of Cuba, a sovereign member of the United Nations, are in danger, the duty of all member countries of the United Nations is to offer it all the necessary aid and support.

The Soviet Government reserves the right, if armed intervention in the affairs of the Cuban people is not stopped, to take all measures with other countries to give the Republic of Cuba the necessary assistance.

Moscow, April 18, 1961.

**MESSAGE SENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE
SOVIET UNION, NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, TO
PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**

Mr. President: I address this message to you at an alarming hour which is fraught with danger against universal peace. An armed aggression has been started against Cuba. It is an open secret that the armed bands which have invaded that country have been prepared, equipped, and armed in the United States. The planes which bomb Cuban towns belong to the United States of America, the bombs which they drop have been put at their disposal by the American Government.

All this arouses in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, and the Soviet people an understandable feeling of indignation. Only recently, exchanging views through our representatives, we talked with you about the mutual wish of the parties to exert joint efforts directed toward the improvement of relations between our countries and the prevention of a danger of war. Your statement a few days ago to the effect that the United States of America would not participate in military actions against Cuba created an impression that the leading authorities of the United States are aware of the consequences which aggression against Cuba could have for the whole world and the United States of America itself.

How are we not to understand what is really being done by the United States now that the attack on Cuba has become a fact?

It is yet not too late to prevent the irreparable. The Government of the U.S. can still prevent the flames of war kindled by the interventionists on Cuba from spreading into a conflagration which it will be impossible to cope with. I earnestly appeal to you, Mr. President, to call a halt to

the aggression against the Republic of Cuba. The military techniques and the world political situation now are such that any so-called "small war" can produce a chain reaction in all parts of the world.

As for the U.S.S.R., there must be no mistake about our position. We will extend to the Cuban people and its Government all the necessary aid for the repulse of the armed attack on Cuba. We are sincerely interested in the relaxation of international tension, but if others go in for its aggravation, then we will answer them in full measure. In general it is impossible to carry on affairs in such a way that in one area the situation is settled and the fire is put out, and in another area a new fire is lit.

I hope that the US. Government will take into consideration these reasons, dictated only by concern that steps should not be permitted which might lead the world to a catastrophe of war.

N. KHRUSHCHEV

Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers

April 18, 1961.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE LETTER OF PRIME
MINISTER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO
PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**

(April 22, 1961)

• “Mr. President: I received reply of April 18th. You write that the United States does not intend to carry out a military intervention in Cuba. However, numerous facts known to the entire world, and certainly known better by the Government of the United States of America than anybody else, present a different story. However much the opposite is assured, it is indisputably ascertained that the preparations for the intervention, the financing of armament, and the transfer of hired gangs which have invaded the territory of Cuba were indeed carried out by the United States.

Such are the facts. They illustrate the direct participation of the United States of America in the armed aggression against Cuba.

• In your message you took the stand of justification and even eulogy of the assault on Cuba, this crime which has shocked the whole world.

The organization of military aggression against Cuba—only because the way of life chosen by its people does not correspond to the tastes of the leading circles in the United States and the North American monopolies acting in Latin America—you seek to justify by reasoning about the devotion of the U. S. Government to the ideals of “freedom”. I take the liberty to ask: What freedom do you mean?

The freedom to strangle the Cuban people with the bony hand of starvation by means of economic blockade? Is this freedom? The freedom to send military planes over

the territory of Cuba, to expose to barbaric bombardment peaceful Cuban cities, to set fire to sugar cane plantations? Is this freedom?

History knows numerous examples when, under the excuse of the defense of freedom bloody reprisals were carried out against the people, colonial wars were waged, and one country after the other was taken by the throat.

Apparently, in the case given, you mean the aspiration of the U.S. Government to reestablish in Cuba this kind of "freedom" under which the country would dance to the tune of the stronger neighbor, and the foreign monopolies again could plunder the national riches of Cuba and make profit out of the blood and sweat of the Cuban people. But the Cuban people made their revolution against exactly this kind of "freedom", driving out Batista who, perhaps, faithfully served the interests of his foreign master but who was a foreign element in the body of the Cuban nation.

Thus you, Mr. President, express solicitude about a band of enemies chased out by their nation, who have found refuge under the wing of those who try to hold Cuba under the muzzle of the arms of their cruisers and mine sweepers. But why are you not moved by the destiny of the 6-million-strong Cuban nation? Why do you not wish to reckon with its right to arrange its internal affairs as it thinks fit? Where is the code of international law, or, finally, of human morality, with the aid which such a position could be justified? In short, they do not exist.

The Cuban people have expressed their will once again with a degree of clarity which could not leave a single doubt even with those who prefer to close their eyes to reality. They have shown that they not only know their interests best, but know how to defend them. Cuba today is, of course, not the Cuba which you identified with the band of traitors who fought against their own nation. This is the Cuba of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia. This is a nation which has rallied closely around its revolutionary government headed by the national hero, Fidel Castro. And this nation judging by all things, has met the interventionist in a worthy manner. Surely this is true evidence of the real

will of the people of Cuba. I think this is convincing. And if this is so, then surely the time is ripe to draw sober conclusions from it.

- You also refer to some duty of the United States "to defend the Western Hemisphere against external aggression". But what kind of duty can it be in this case? No one has a duty to defend rebels against the legal government in a sovereign state, which Cuba is.

Mr. President, you are taking a very dangerous path. Think about it. You speak about your rights and obligations. Certainly, everyone can have pretensions to these rights or those rights, but then you must also permit other states to base their acts in analogous instances on the same kind of reasons and considerations.

- Now, in the second half of the 20th century, it is impossible to follow the piratic morality of colonizers anymore. All of us are now witnesses to the fact of how the colonial system falls to the ground and fades away. The Soviet Union, for its part, does its best to contribute to this, and we are proud of it.

Or let us consider U. S. activities in regard to China. In reference to what legal norms can one justify these activities? It is known to all that Taiwan is an integral part of China. This has also been recognized by the U. S. Government, whose signature was put on the Cairo Declaration of 1943. However, later on the United States seized Taiwan or, actually, entered on the path of robbery. The Chinese People's Republic declared its natural aspiration to reunite the territory of Taiwan with the rest of the Chinese territory. But what was the United States reaction to this? It declared that armed force would be used to prevent the reunion of this seized Chinese territory with the rest of China. It threatens war in case China takes steps aiming at the reunification of Taiwan. And this from a country which has officially recognized Taiwan as belonging to China: Is this not perfidy in international policy?

If such methods prevailed in relations between states then there would be no room for law, and instead of it lawlessness and arbitrariness would take its place.

Thus, Mr. President, your sympathies are one thing, and actions against the security and independence of other

nations, undertaken on the strength of those sympathies, is quite another matter. Naturally, you can express your sympathies toward the imperialist and colonialist countries and this does not astonish anyone. You, for instance, cast your vote with them in the United Nations. This is a question of your morality. But what was done against Cuba is not morality. This is warlike action.

- As to your anxiety about emigrants, expelled by the Cuban people. I would say the following in this connection:

You, of course, know that in many countries there are emigrants who are not satisfied with the regime prevailing in those countries from which they fled. If such abnormal practices are introduced in the relations between states as for such emigrants to be armed and used against the countries from which they have fled, then we can surely say that this will inevitably lead to conflicts and wars. And, therefore, one should refrain from such unwise activities because this is a slippery and dangerous road which might lead to world war.

- In your answer you considered it to be appropriate to touch on problems not related to the theme of my message, among them, in your interpretation, the problem of the historical inevitability of the Communist Revolution.

I am only able to evaluate it as a tendency to divert from the main question—the question of the aggression against Cuba. Under suitable conditions we are also ready to exchange views on the question regarding the ways and means for the development of human society, although such a question is not being solved by disputes between groups or individual persons, regardless of the high position they may occupy in the state. The fact of whose system will turn out to be the better will be solved by the peoples.

You, Mr. President, have spoken frequently and much about your wish to see Cuba liberated. But all acts of the United States in regard to this country contradict this, not to mention the last armed assault on Cuba, which was organized with the aim of changing its inner structure by force.

It was no one but the United States, indeed, which thrust on Cuba the one-sided condition of the Havana agreement almost 60 years ago and created on its territory its Guantánamo military base. But the United States of America is the most powerful country in the Western Hemisphere, and no one in this hemisphere is able to threaten you with military invasion. It follows, therefore, that if you continue to maintain your military base on the territory of Cuba against the clearly expressed wish of the Cuban people and government, this base serves not for defense from aggression by any foreign powers, but has the aim of suppressing the will of the Latin American peoples. It has been created for the implementation of gendarmery functions and for keeping the Latin American peoples in political and economic dependence.

The Government of the United States is now thundering against Cuba. But this only shows one thing—your lack of confidence in your own system, in the policy carried out by the United States. And this is understandable since this is a policy of exploitation, the policy of enslaving underdeveloped countries. You have no faith in your system, and this is why you are afraid that the example of Cuba might infect other countries.

But aggressive, bandit acts cannot save your system."

LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS



MYSTERY AIRSTRIP AT RETALHULEU, GUATEMALA
Was time running out?

CUBA

Underground

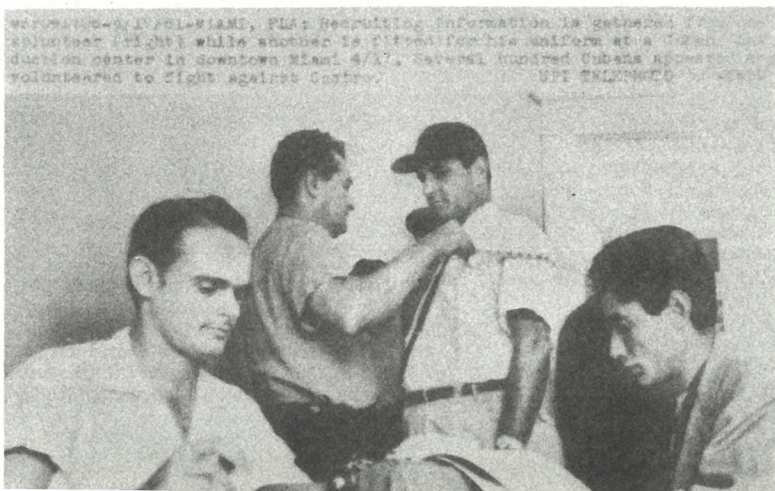
is the air of a man who has won a

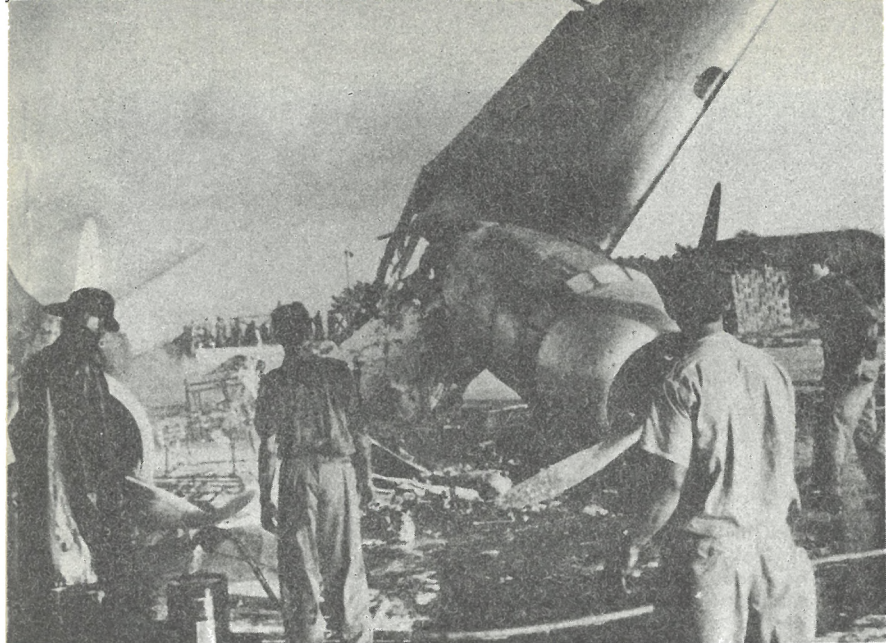
200 militia to attack with mortars and artillery, only to see his militia troops driven off. In Havana, Castro wasted no time in persuasion; his revolutionary

seventh. Over a three-month span, 30 men derailed two trains in Camaguey, blacked out the province's capital three days, shot up buses and an

Information on the preparations for the attack leaked out in the imperialist press. The above photo published in "Time" magazine shows a view of the airstrip at the mercenary training camp in Retalhuleu, Guatemala.

The photograph below, released by United Press International, shows an induction center in Miami, where the CIA openly and shamelessly recruited mercenaries for the Cuban invasion.





*Forty-eight hours before the invasion,
American planes painted with
Cuban Revolutionary Air Force insignias,
strafed the Cuban airports and cities,
trying to destroy the country's air force and
making it an easy prey for the armed attack.*



President Kennedy held various meetings with his leading military advisers to put the finishing touches on the preparations for the mercenary attack on Playa Giron. From left to right, Curtis Le May, Lyman Lemnitzer, Kennedy, George Decker, David M. Shous and Arleigh Burke.

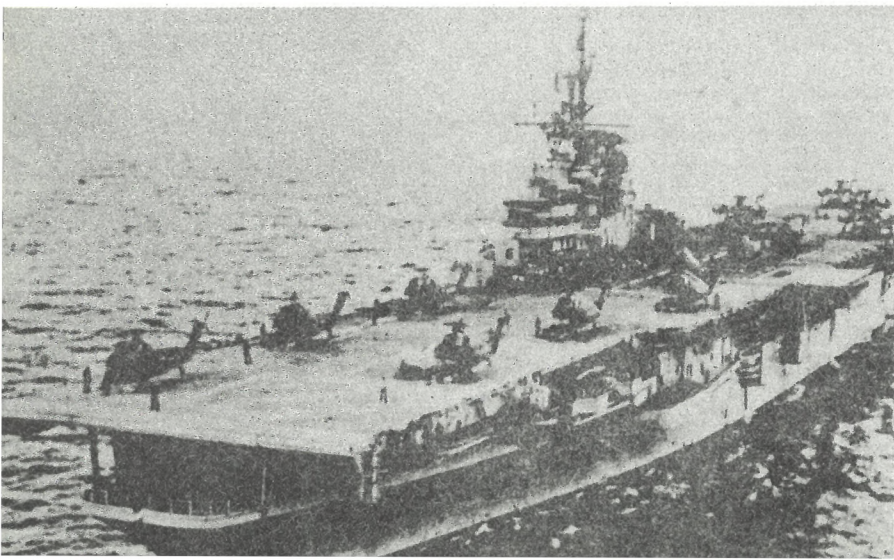
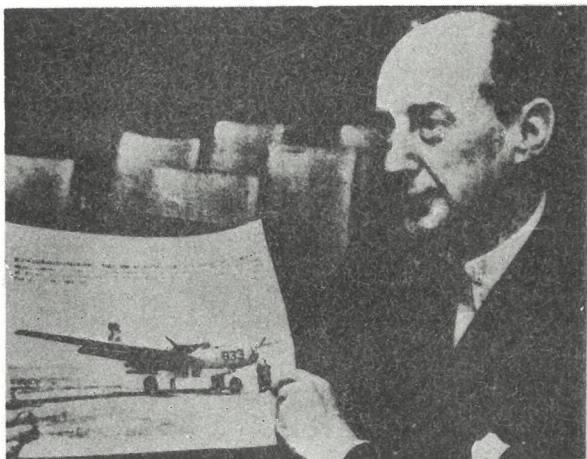




During the grandiose funeral, at which time the Socialist Revolution was proclaimed, the Cuban people, faced with the imminence of an armed attack, reaffirmed their determination to win.

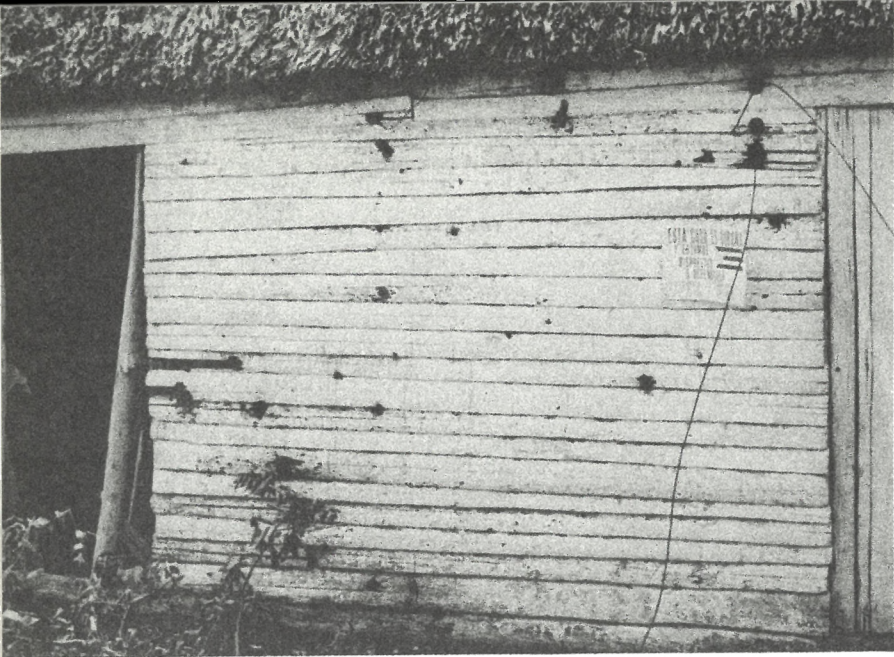
◀ *Huge crowds attended the impressive funeral of the air attack victims.*

The United States delegate to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, cynically stated before that organization that "the United States had nothing to do with the Cuban invasion". Meanwhile, as further proof of the direct American participation, the United States Navy aircraft carrier, the "Boxer", was stationed a few miles off Playa Girón at the time the invaders were going ashore.

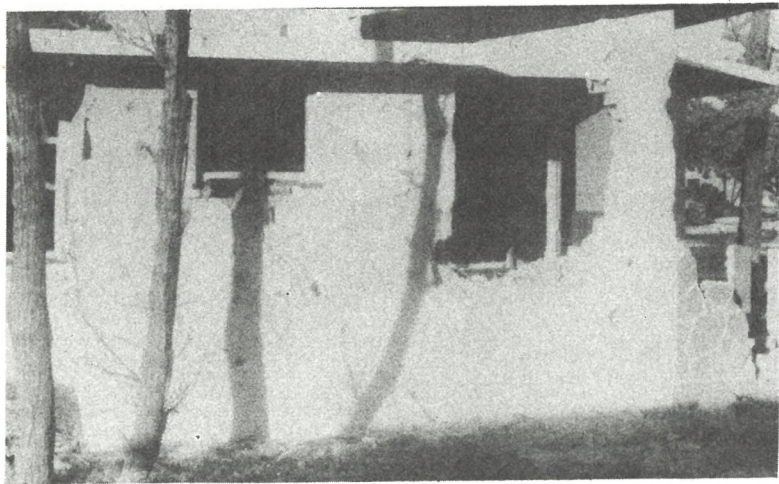


*The enemy napalm
bombs and the uproar of
the American weapons
could not hold back the
determined advance
of the people's army*





The mercenary air force, made up of American planes, destroyed dozens of workers' homes in the area held by invaders for several hours. The sign posted on the humble bullet-ridden home by its occupants, shows the people's determination that led to the crushing defeat of the invaders. The sign reads: "This is a Cuban home and we are bent on defending it. Fatherland or death!"

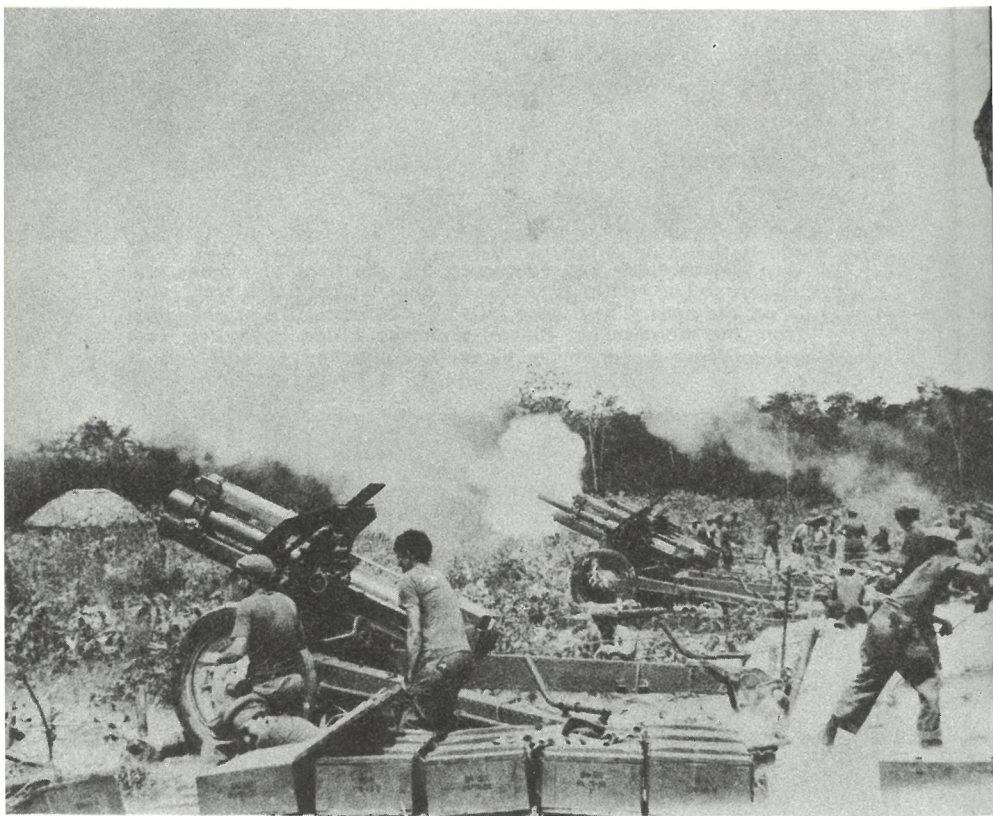




The invaders had no respect for the lives of women and children. The bodies of a woman and her child are seen lying on the road. They were killed by bazooka fire as they fled from the mercenaries. Below, a woman killed by bullets shot from a mercenary plane that attacked a truck full of civilians who were fleeing from the area.

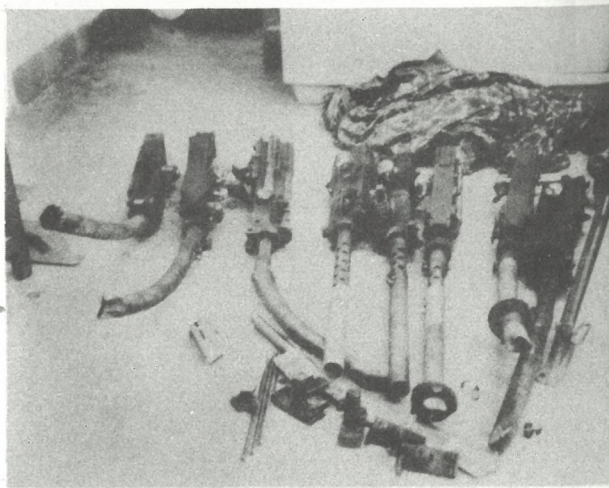


*"... the wall
they met was our
combatants!"*

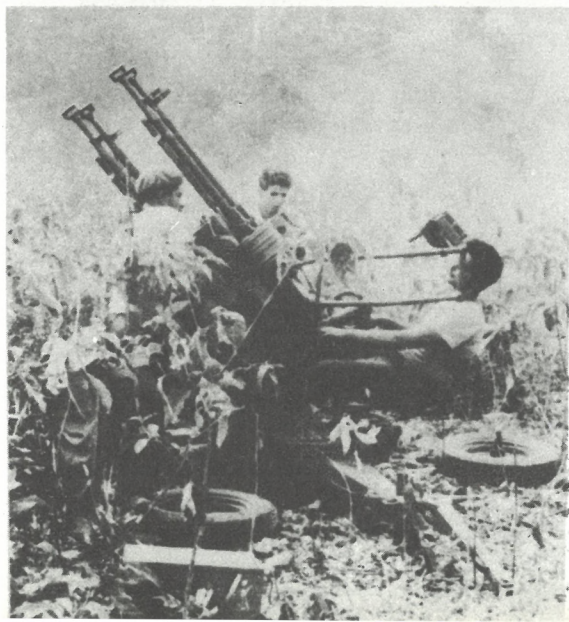




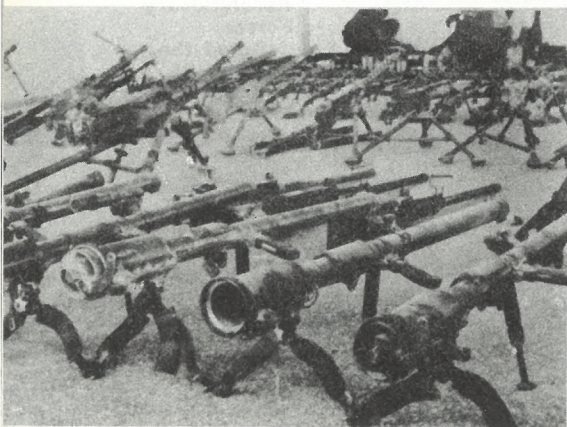
"...let no one think that they engaged then all our infantry troops and artillery in combat; and our strength has grown since!"



The Revolutionary Air Force and the anti-aircraft artillery shot down several B-26 mercenary planes. The American-made bomber planes were fully equipped with weapons, as shown below.



The
Revolutionary
Forces
defeated the
invaders in less
than 72 hours.



Huge amounts of American Army weapons and ammunitions left behind by the cowardly mercenaries, as they fled from the advance of the Revolutionary Forces. Had the invaders fought more courageously, they could have held that territory for a longer length of time.



None of the leaders of the mercenary troops were killed. They had few casualties. When the Revolutionary Forces advanced, the invaders abandoned 57 mm. and 75 mm. recoilless guns, rocket launchers, 50 caliber machine guns, 60, 81 and 4.2 mm. mortars, Garand and Browning rifles, many of which were still unpacked.



Without firing a single shot, the Revolutionary Forces captured the mercenaries less than 72 hours after they landed. It was just a matter of picking them up with their weapons.





Capt. Pedro Luis Rodríguez testifying at the military trial of the mercenary invaders.

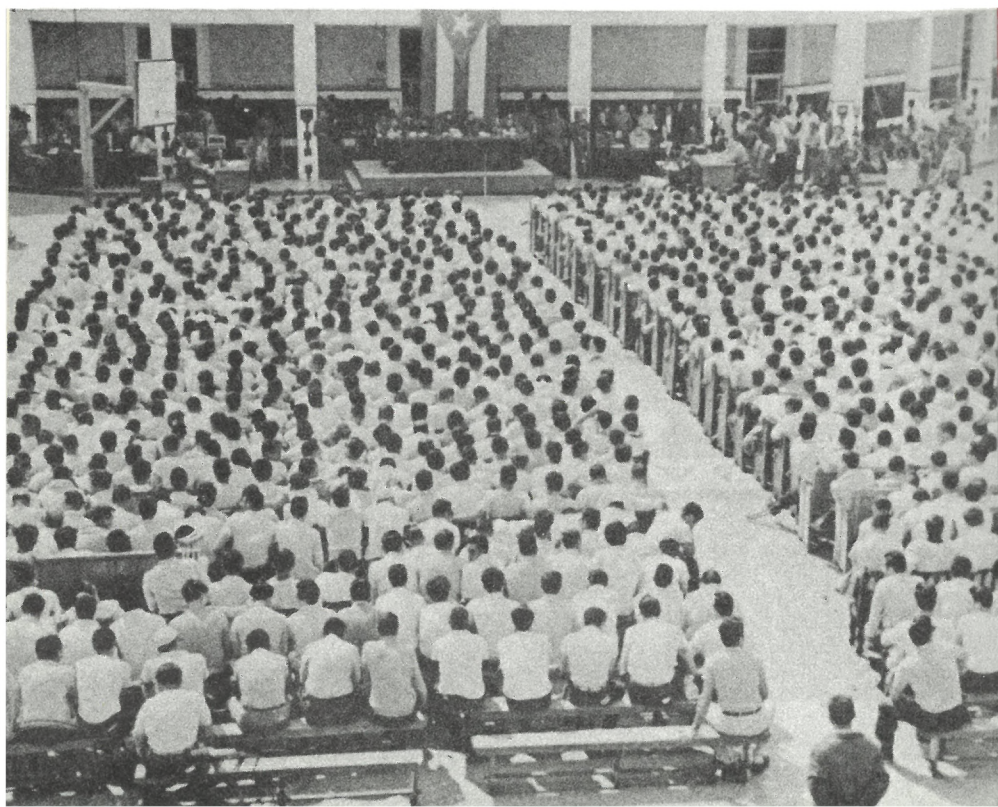
Capt. José Alvarez Bravo, Chief of Anti-Aircraft Defense.





The Revolutionary Court that tried the mercenary invaders was presided over by Major Augusto Martínez Sánchez (center). Also shown are other members of the Court, Majors Guillermo García, Juan Almeida, Sergio del Valle and Manuel Piñeiro.

*A scene from the military trial of
the mercenaries sent by American
imperialism to invade Cuba on
April 17, 1961. It was held in Havana.*



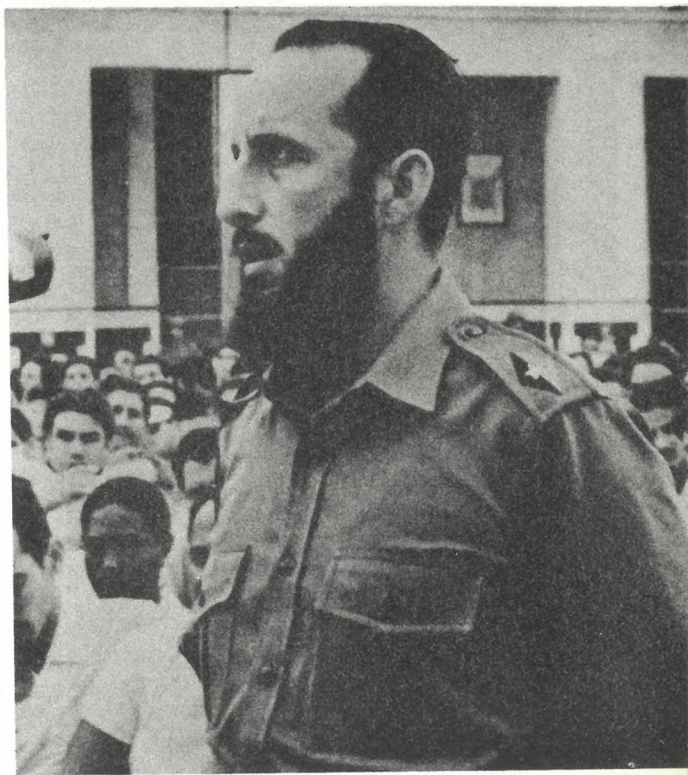


Major José Fernández Álvarez.

*Major Oscar Fernández Mel, Chief of the
Revolutionary Armed Forces Sanitary Units.*



Major Pedro Miret Prieto.





*Capt. Raúl Curbelo Morales, Chief
of the Revolutionary Air Force.*

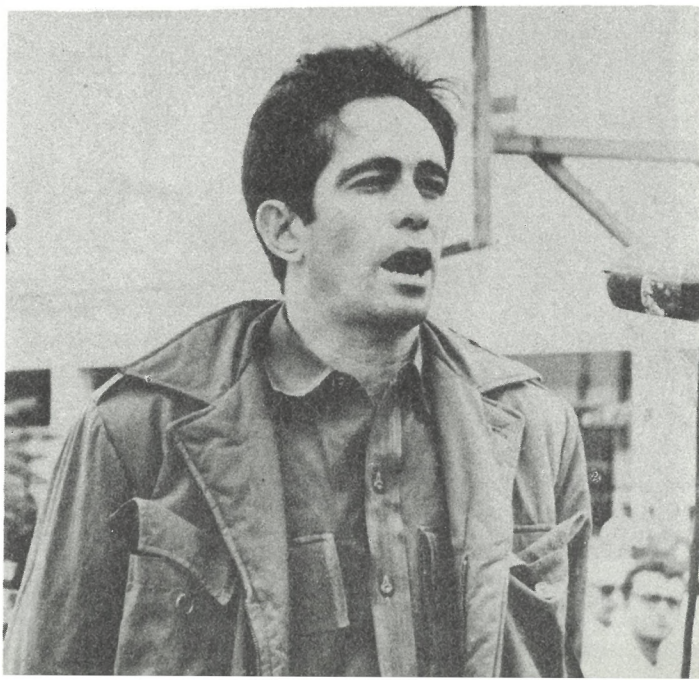
Captain Flavio Bravo Pardo.

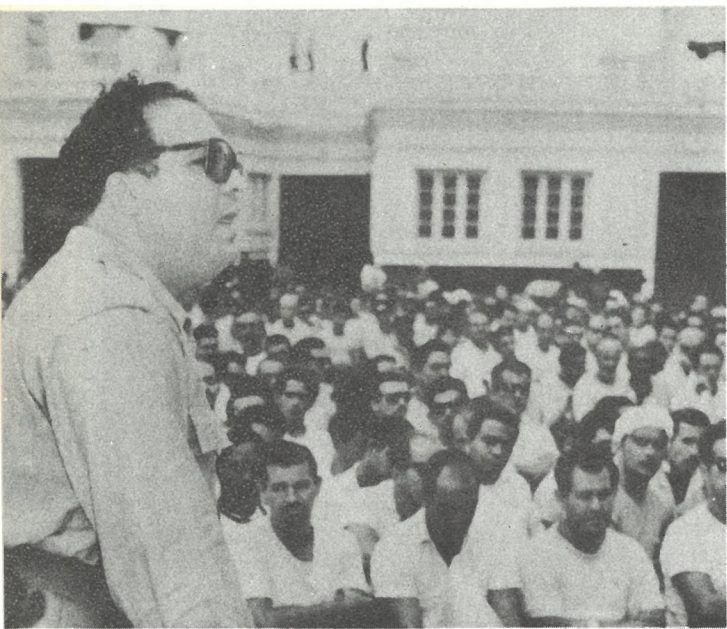




Captain Emilio Aragonés Navarro.

Captain Osmany Cienfuegos Gorriarán.





Dr. José Santiago Cuba, Attorney General of the Republic.

Dr. Antonio Cejas Sánchez, defense counsel.





Death and destruction were left behind at Playa Girón and Playa Larga by the imperialist-supported invaders. Only ruins remained of these homes.





The Revolutionary Forces advanced on the enemy with courage and determination, under mortar and gun fire. In spite of the fact that the mercenaries held vantage ground, they cowardly fled and abandoned it.



Heavy armed contingents of the Revolution went into combat with the enemy. Battalions of the National Revolutionary Milicias, the National Police Force and the Rebel Army, were mobilized to fight the invaders.

Contrary to the attitude of the mercenary leaders, who cowardly gave up the battle before their troops did, Prime Minister, Major Fidel Castro, personally commanded the Revolutionary Forces at Playa Giron.





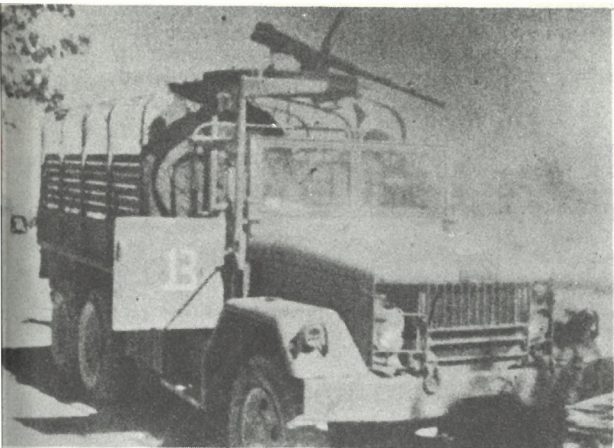
To fight the invaders, the Revolutionary Forces had to go down the few roads of access to the vantage ground held by the enemy.



The Revolutionary Forces took their positions immediately and counter-attacked with such impetus that the enemy surrendered in less than 3 days.

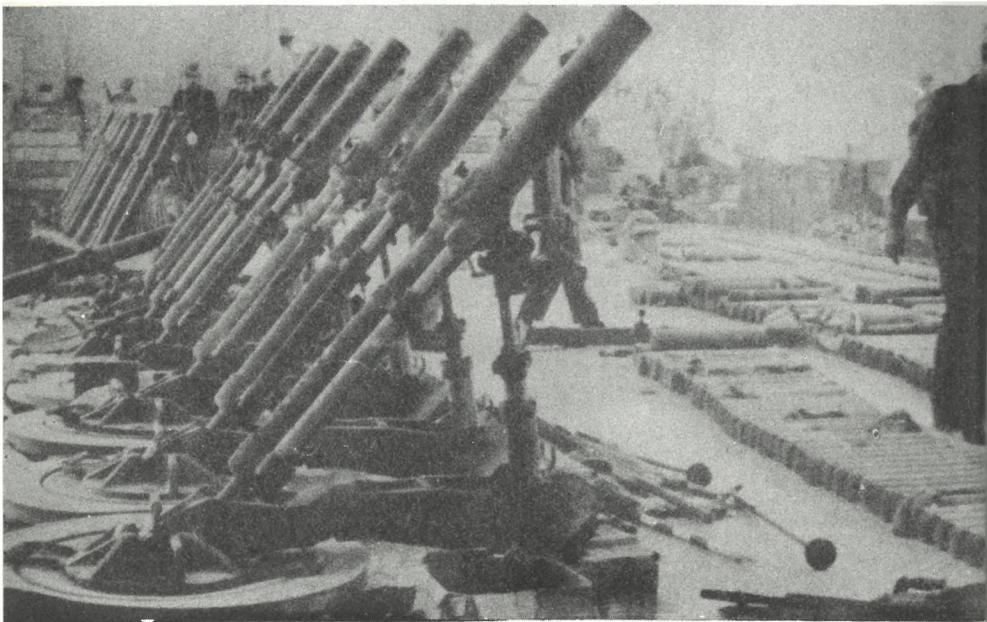


Beaten down by the people, the frightened mercenaries surrendered to the Revolutionary Forces 3 days after their landing. They never even used the modern American weapons they brought along in quantities more than enough to equip regular army units.

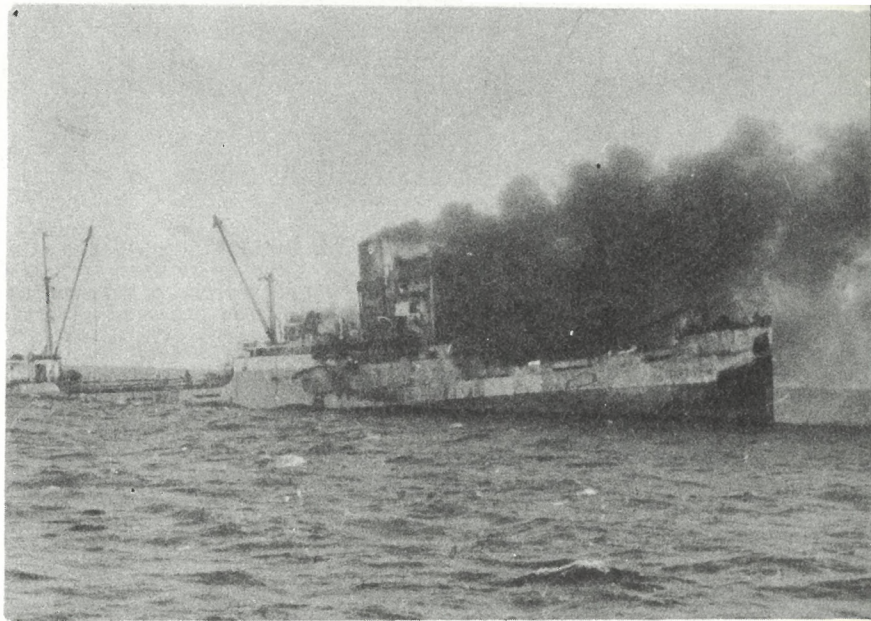


M-41 and A-2 tanks, as well as armored trucks and weapons made in U.S.A. were landed by the mercenaries at Playa Girón. This equipment, mostly unused, was also abandoned in the hastened flight.

Guns, machine guns, mortars, rifles and ammunition, in quantities enough to keep on fighting for several weeks, were captured in 3 days as the cowardly invaders fled into the swamps and later surrendered.



The "Houston", one of the ships hired by the imperialists to bring the mercenaries to the Cuban coast, was sunk by Revolutionary artillery fire.





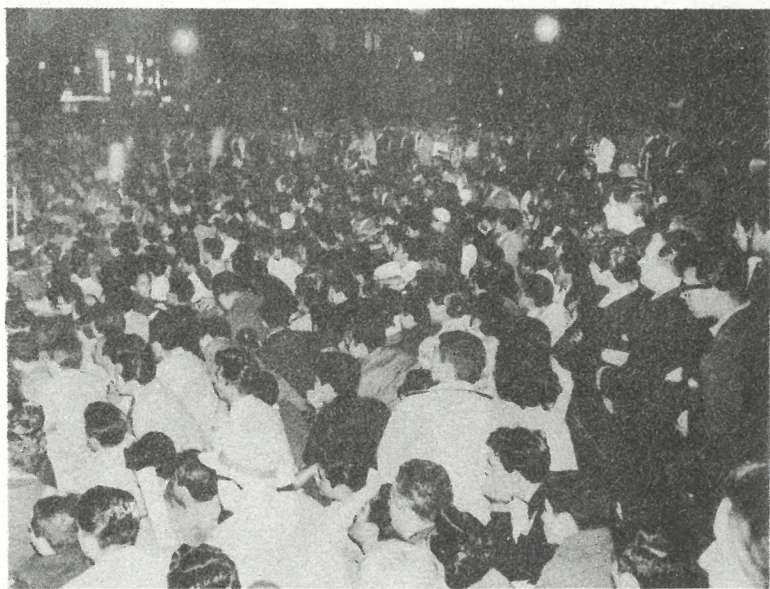
At Playa Girón, the President of the Republic, Dr. Osvaldo Dorticós, is shown talking to a group of mercenaries that had just been captured.



chile



mexico





brazil





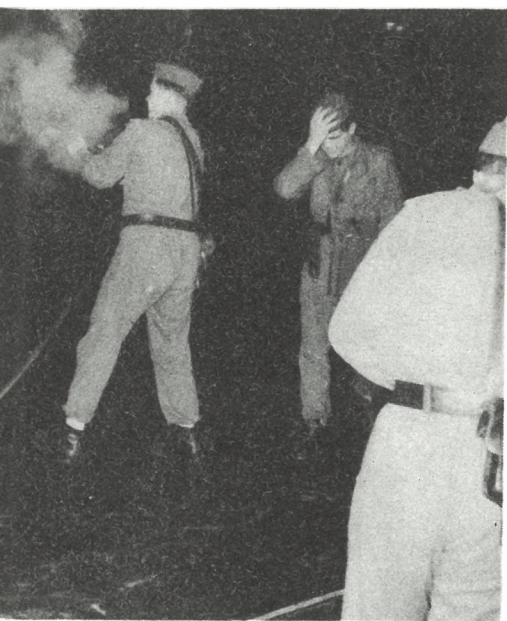
colombia



ecuador



argentine





bollvia

panama







soviet union



**people's
republic of china**

向英雄的古巴人民
致敬

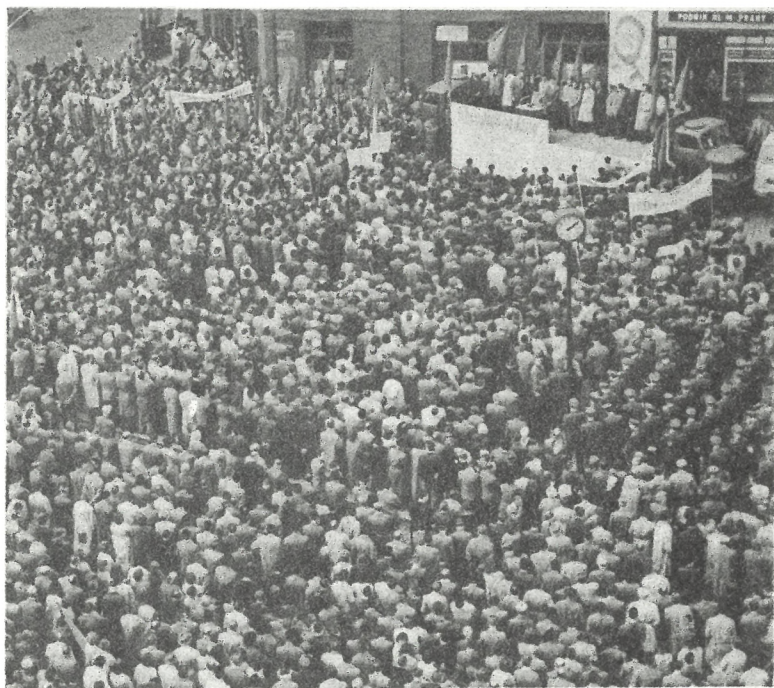


poland





checoslovakia





korea





bulgaria



german
democratic republic

italy

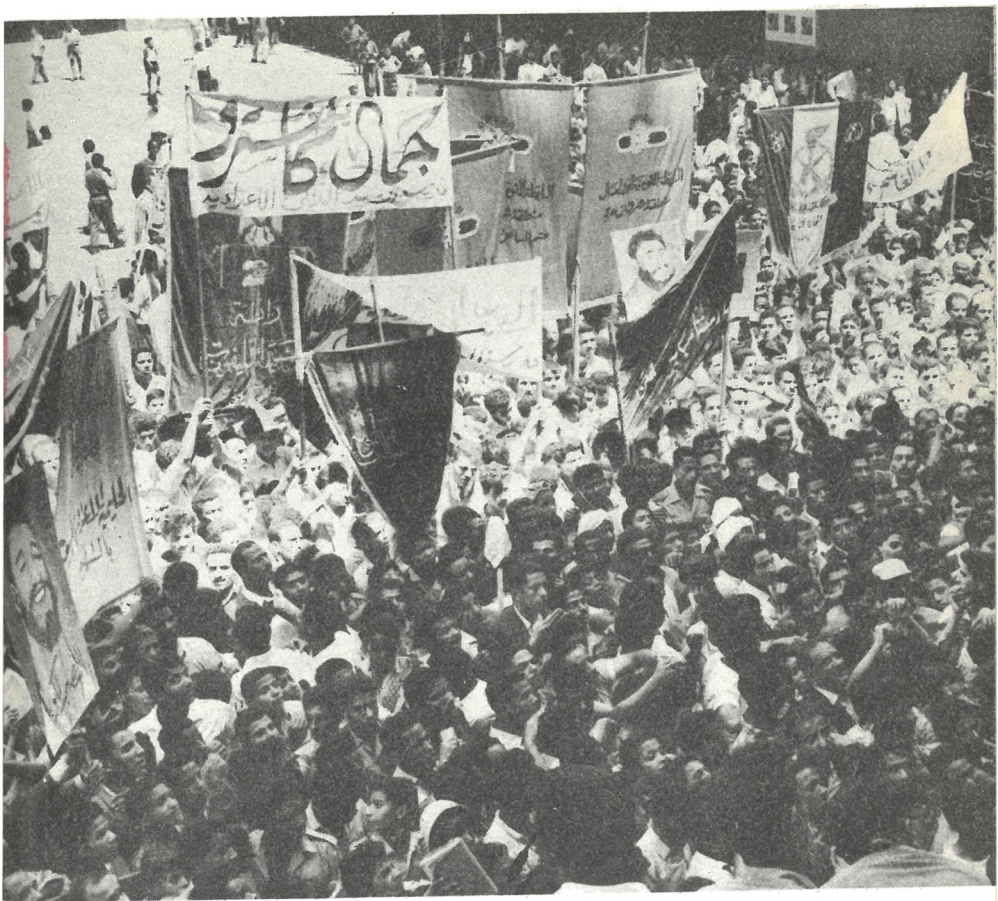




great britain



Japan



egypt

C o n t e n t s

I N T R O D U C T I O N

**"If they attack us again, the Revolution
will be relentless with them..."**

Speech delivered by Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro,
on the 19th of April, 1962, the first anniversary of
the victory of the Cuban people at Playa Girón 9

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